

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

PHILO
VOLUME VIII



Translated by
F. H. COLSON

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB

EDITED BY

G. P. GOOLD

PREVIOUS EDITORS

T. E. PAGE

E. CAPPS

W. H. D. ROUSE

L. A. POST

E. H. WARMINGTON

PHILO

VIII

LCL 341

PHILO

VOLUME VIII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
F. H. COLSON



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

First published 1939
Reprinted 1954, 1960, 1968, 1989, 1999

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 0-674-99376-4

*Printed in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press Ltd,
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on acid-free paper.
Bound by Hunter & Foulis Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland.*

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	ix
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS	xxv
ON THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV	
INTRODUCTION	3
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	6
ON THE VIRTUES	
INTRODUCTION	158
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	162
ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS	
INTRODUCTION	309
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	312
APPENDICES	
I. TO <i>DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS</i> , IV	425
II. TO <i>DE VIRTUTIBUS</i>	440
III. TO <i>DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS</i>	451

PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII

THIS volume concludes the exposition of the Law which began in vol. vi., and also vol. v. of Cohn and Wendland's edition. There is only one other point which need be mentioned here.

As in vols. vi. and vii., I have made full use of the German translation published in 1906. The first of the three treatises here translated, *Spec. Leg.* iv., was the work of Heinemann, who also translated the three first books of the Special Laws, which formed the main part of my vol. vii. In the preface to that volume I said that I occasionally found myself differing from Heinemann as to the meaning of particular sentences and phrases. I say very much the same of his translation of this fourth book. But the translation of the other two treatises, the *De Virtutibus* and *De Praemiis*, comes from Dr. Cohn himself, whose labours on the text embodied in his great edition have earned the unbounded gratitude of every student of Philo. I have been startled by the number of times in which I find myself in disagreement with him, a disagreement extending beyond the translation to the text particularly in the cases where he

PREFACE

seems to me to have printed unjustified emendations. Though it may sometimes seem disputatious, I have felt bound to record in the footnotes or appendix my reasons for differing from him, as what is only due to so high an authority.

As in the last volume, I am also indebted to Goodenough's *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt* and Heinemann's *Philon's Bildung*, but not to the same extent. Goodenough's discussion only extended to the first part of *Spec. Leg.* iv., and Heinemann's references are also less copious.

F. H. C.

CAMBRIDGE, *December* 1938.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE first ninety pages of this volume complete the survey of the laws referable to the Ten Commandments, and cover the eighth, ninth and tenth, though on a scale by no means commensurate with the 130 pages in which he treated the sixth and seventh in the preceding volume. Here the eighth is well exemplified from the particular laws. For the ninth Philo has said (*De Decalogo* 172) "that it forbids not only false witness but deceit, false accusation, co-operation with evildoers and using honesty for a screen for dishonesty, all of which have been the subjects of appropriate laws." Here he can hardly be said to make good the statement in the last clause. The third of these four points is dealt with fully, and perhaps the fourth, though incidentally. But after the discussion of witness in general this part of the treatise is mainly occupied with the qualities required of a judge, a matter which belongs rather, as he himself recognizes later, to the second half of the treatise on justice.

Though Philo has said (*De Decalogo* 174) that many ordinances fall under the tenth commandment he does not produce any except the dietary laws, and these are not really germane. Even if we admit his assumption that the flesh of swine and that of other animals are forbidden because they are the most

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

appetizing, Moses is not forbidding the appetite but only the indulgence of it. The fact is that there are no specific laws to quote. For though the Pentateuch does enjoin or prohibit feelings as well as actions such as "thou shalt love thy neighbour" and the like, I do not think there are any except the tenth commandment itself which develops the thought "thou shalt not desire."

The words "thy neighbour's," which are repeated so emphatically in the tenth commandment, as we have it and Philo also had it in the LXX, receive little attention from him. In this he follows the Stoic idea which conceives of the desire of what we have not got as a spiritual disease quite independent of whether it affects other people or not. Many forms of it of course lead to wrongdoing to others, as Philo points out in the disquisition on desire in general (§§ 79-94), but this is really incidental and is quite absent from the particular example given, namely gluttony, which occupies the rest of his treatment of this commandment.^a

At this point comes the great break. The subject may be treated in another aspect. The commandments as a whole, and indeed each separately, inculcate all the virtues, and therefore if we classify the laws according to the virtues which they enjoin we shall still be referring them to the great Ten. The accepted list of the chief virtues both according to Plato and the Stoics is justice, wisdom or prudence, courage and temperance. To these Philo adds piety

^a The allegorical interpretation of the dietary laws is of course a digression, though a very natural one. The story of the quails which concludes this part is a law in the sense that it records the punishment which gluttony incurred.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(εὐσέβεια), which with the Stoics at any rate is a subordinate virtue,^a and humanity (φιλανθρωπία),^b a term which, so far as I can judge, was not current in the schools. Of these, piety, wisdom and temperance have been treated earlier,^c and there remain

^a Defined as ἐπιστήμη θεῶν θεραπείας (see index *S.V.F.*). Cf. *Quod Det.* 55, where perhaps read θεραπείας (sc. ἐπιστήμην) for θεραπείαν.

^b The curious description given of φιλανθρωπία in Diog. Laert. iii. 98 as from Plato does not suggest that it ranks among the virtues; there it is said to have three forms, (a) cordial hand-shaking and greeting, (b) helping anyone in misfortune, (c) liking to give good dinners (φιλοδειπνιστής). This is, I suppose, just a lexicographical account of the uses of the word which with its cognates is common enough; it does not appear at all in *S.V.F.* except in a quotation from Clement, who probably depends upon Philo. The later Stoics such as Seneca no doubt prized many of the qualities which it involves, but I am not clear whether even Roman Stoicism had any real equivalent. "Humanitas" seems to have a somewhat different connotation and to include good manners and culture. Possibly "caritas"—and *De Car.* as sometimes used as a title for this treatise—is the nearest. Compare Cic. *Acad.* ii. 140 "ruunt communitas cum humano genere, caritas, amicitia, iustitia aliaeque virtutes," and the following from *De Fin.* v. 65 gives Philo's conception, though not in a single word: "Caritas humani generis quae . . . serpit sensim foras, cognationibus primum . . . deinde totius complexu gentis humanae."

^c What does this mean? As stated on p. xiv, a treatise on εὐσέβεια actually existed, but if Cohn and Wendland are right in thinking that this once stood between the *De Fort.* and *De Hum.* it cannot be referred to here. Of special treatises on σωφροσύνη and φρόνησις there are no traces. And to satisfy the scheme these treatises should not be so much disquisitions on the virtues as on the special laws which illustrate them. Presumably therefore he means that the three virtues have been sufficiently exemplified in the laws discussed up to now. All of the laws grouped in the first two books on the first four commandments might fairly be said

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

justice, courage and humanity. We proceed to justice, which in defiance of natural arrangement is included in this fourth book instead of in the *De Virtutibus*. The treatment of the subject keeps well to the point throughout, as may be seen from the analysis of the contents on page 5, and is copiously illustrated from the law book.

The treatise here printed under the title *De Virtutibus*, commonly regarded as consisting of four parts, on courage, on humanity, on repentance and on nobility of birth, raises several questions. One thing is certain, that the fourfold form presented here is the same as that in which it was read by Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century A.D. Clement in book ii. 18 of his *Miscellanies* (Στρωματεῖς) sets himself to show that the Old Testament scriptures enjoin all the virtues in the philosophical list, and to do so he makes copious use of the *De Virtutibus* as we have it. That is to say, nothing is taken from the *De Iustitia* in the fourth book. The borrowings, mainly of substance, but with an obvious colouring from Philo's wording, begin with the *De Fortitudine*, pass on to the *De Humanitate*, then to the *De Poenitentia*, and finally to the *De Nobilitate*.^a

to refer to εὐσέβεια, and those on sexual matters in Book III and the dietary laws in this book would fall under σωφροσύνη, but I do not see where any referable to φρόνησις are to be found.

^a The source of these semi-extracts is unacknowledged perhaps because Clement regarded them as merely references to scripture to which his attention has been called by Philo. A little later, where he quotes a non-scriptural saying from the *Vita Mosi*, he names "Philo the Pythagorean" as his authority.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The first of these four components seems to me a poor piece of work, at any rate as far as the Exposition of the Particular Laws is concerned. The first seventeen sections, which praise fortitude in meeting misfortunes and difficulties, are not illustrated from the laws at all. He then notes the law which forbids a man to assume a woman's dress, which, as the converse that a woman must not dress as a man is coupled with it, is hardly a law promoting ἀνδρεία in the sense of courage. Passing on to courage in war, the only laws quoted are two which allow exemption from the duty of showing courage,^a and the final account of the origin and conduct of the Midianite War is told to illustrate the promise that obedience will ensure either peace or victory and enjoins εὐσέβεια as much as or more than ἀνδρεία.

The next component in our list is the *De Humanitate*, but at this point Cohn and Wendland believe that a *De Pietate* originally stood. While I will not presume to contradict them I cannot accept this unhesitatingly.^b Anyhow, as we know nothing about

^a Unless indeed this may be regarded as exemplifying the curious second part of the Stoic definition of ἀνδρεία, as knowledge of not only τὰ ὑπομενετέα but also τὰ οὐχ ὑπομενετέα.

^b (1) Cohn and Wendland primarily rely on the opening words "the virtue closest to piety its sister and its twin, humanity is next to be examined." I do not think that these words necessarily or even strongly suggest that piety has just been examined. Piety (see iv. 147) is the queen of the virtues, while in § 95 below piety and humanity share the queenship. It is not remarkable that here when he passes on from the less royal "courage" to the more royal "humanity" he should note its kinship to the undoubted queen. On the other hand, by any ordinary interpretation the phrase "Of

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

it, we may pass on to what we have. The *De Humanitate* opens with some sections describing the last actions of Moses which are supposed to exemplify his *φιλανθρωπία*. In a sense they do this, but evidently their main purpose is to give a supplement to the

piety we have spoken earlier" indicates that it is not to be treated in what follows.

(2) The traditional titles in the mss., see note (App. p. 440): apparently nearly all the mss, though not the oldest, S, include *εὐσεβείας* as Cohn does in the title which he prints and I have reproduced. One of these indeed gives the sub-title *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* to the *De Hum.* and omits *φιλανθρωπίας* altogether. Observation of this leads me to wonder whether the introduction of *εὐσεβείας* into the general title may be due to the fact that as noted above the *De Hum.* opens with the words *τὴν δ' εὐσεβείας κτλ.*, from which the scribe or scribes drew the same inference as Cohn and Wendland have done. I put this forward more boldly since I have found that Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3 (Eng. trans.), p. 346, takes this view. Again one ms. puts the sub-title *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* at the beginning of the story of the Midianite War and this suggests to me that the insertion of the word was supported by the belief that that story is concerned with piety even more than with courage. Still my knowledge of the general value of titles in mss. as evidence is not enough to allow me to do more than put forward these points for consideration.

(3) Harris's collection of fragments drawn from mss. of collections of parallels from the Fathers and others contains three items which purport to come from a treatise *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*. I suppose this is sufficient to show that a treatise existed under that name, and perhaps in combination with the mss. titles noted above there may be a presumption that it formed part of the *De Virt.* But this presumption has to meet the undoubted fact that Clement did not find it in his copy. Cohn indeed goes so far as to say that this shows that "iam antiquis temporibus videtur periisse." "Periisse" is a strong word, and I think Cohn should at least have noted that if it had perished in the second century, its reappearance in the next century only to perish again after some hundred years requires some explanation.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Vita Mosis. Philo has there given a few sections to the last stage of Moses' life, but it is easy to understand that he was glad to take an opportunity of enlarging his account. After this the treatise proceeds in an orderly way through the main classes of human society, then to animals and finally to plants. It shows Philo at his best and includes some of his finest thoughts, and though many of us are not Wordsworthian enough to share his sympathy for plants, and the rhetoric of his denunciation of slaughtering the mother and offspring on the same day and seething the lamb in its mother's milk is extravagant, his thoughts about kindness to animals and particularly his words about the order not to muzzle the ox while treading out the corn show a spirit more to our mind than Paul's comment on that text "Does God take care for oxen?"

What of the two components which complete the book, the *De Poenitentia* and *De Nobilitate*? What is their connexion with the *De Humanitate* and with each other? Cohn, who says of the first "artissime cohaerere cum capite *Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας* nemo non videt," explains this very close connexion thus. When Philo has explained the humane precepts of the Mosaic law he turns to those who are still held captive in error and lead a vicious life and calls upon them to embrace the true faith and lead a virtuous life. I should accept this more readily if "or" were substituted for "and" in the phrase "and lead a vicious life." I do not think that the proselytes here occupy such an absorbing place in Philo's mind as Cohn seems to hold. No doubt they take the first place. Conversion to the faith is the first necessity for those outside the faith, but the second half of

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

this short sermon is, I believe, addressed to those within the fold. He speaks to the people at large, neither to the proselytes nor to those who have definitely apostatized. He calls on all members of the Jewish Church to note how the former testify in their lives to the sincerity of their conversion and the latter lose all sense of morality (§ 182), and to deepen and strengthen the honour they give to God, "choose Him" in fact, and this will inevitably mean a better life. With this emendation and perhaps another to the effect that the call is based not merely on the *De Humanitate* but on the whole of the Exposition, I should accept Cohn's view as nearer to the truth than that implied in the title given in the various mss. which treat *μετάνοια* as one of the virtues. Repentance is not a virtue but a necessary stepping-stone to the virtues.^a

According to Cohn the connexion of the *De Nobilitate* with the treatise which precedes it is that, as there the outsiders are urged to become proselytes, so here the Jews are urged to treat them with

^a According to the title in S it is one of the *three* virtues which Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18, in his catalogue of Philo's works, declared to be the subject of the *De Virt.* Cohn, convinced that the *De Piet.* originally stood between *De Fort.* and *De Hum.*, naturally concluded that the three are courage, piety and humanity.

May it be that while the incorporation of the *De Iust.* with the fourth book of the *Spec. Leg.*, an arrangement presumably dictated by convenience of size, did, as we know from Clement, exist from early times, there were also libraries in which the arrangement dictated by sense prevailed? There is not a word in the text to suggest anything to the contrary. To Eusebius in this case the *De Virt.* began at *Spec. Leg.* iv. 132, and his three virtues are justice, courage and humanity. Whether this conjecture is plausible I leave for bibliographers to consider,

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

affection and not with contempt. If this is the intention it is expressed with remarkable indirectness. Abraham and Tamar indeed are treated as converts from heathenism and the former is held out as the standard for proselytes, but nothing whatever is said of what is so often stated elsewhere that it is the duty of the Jews to cherish and esteem them. The treatise is in fact an essay on the Stoic paradox "the virtuous man alone is high born," similar to the *Quod Omnis Probus* on "the virtuous man alone is free," but with a far more religious and scriptural colouring. The moral to the Jews is primarily that their lineage will not in itself give them acceptability with God. No doubt this indirectly involves a warning against showing arrogance to outsiders in general and proselytes in particular, and if we must assume a connexion with the *De Poenitentia*,^a and if Cohn is right in thinking that that sermon is entirely concerned with the proselytes, the point of the *De Nobilitate* will, however dubiously expressed, be what he says. But if the second half of the sermon is, as I think, a call to penitence in general, the moral of the *De Nobilitate* is rather the same as that of the Baptist "Bring forth fruit therefore worthy of repentance and think not to say within yourselves 'we have Abraham to our father.'"

A possible alternative, I think, is that although Clement found the *De Nobilitate* as part of the *De Virtutibus*, it ought not to be there. The mss. tradition

^a Such a close connexion is implied by the διὸ καὶ of F, adopted by Cohn (§ 187). The reading of the majority of mss. τοῖς δὲ is somewhat looser, and might conceivably be a harking back after the discussion on μετάνοια to the denunciation of arrogance which closes *De Hum.* (169 ff.).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

is not against this, for the majority either omit it or put it in a different place, either after the *Vita Mosis* or after the *De Confusione*. Mangey placed it after the "curses" at the end of the *De Praemiis*, but a more unsuitable place can hardly be imagined than this, where the indestructible εὐγένεια of the nation has just been asserted. Equally futile seems the suggestion of Schürer that it is part of the *Apology* or *Hypothetica*. Indeed apart from the connecting conjunctions διὸ καί, καί or δέ, which may easily have been appended, the treatise will stand perfectly well by itself, and I should be glad to think it was so. For while the high level of the *De Humanitate* is adequately maintained in the short *De Poenitentia*, this final component shows a sad falling-off. Its thought rarely rises above the commonplace: the rhetoric of the speech of the personified εὐγένεια (§§ 195 ff.) is exceedingly stilted, and the last examples, not only Tamar but the harmony and virtues of the patriarchal family, border on absurdity.^a While it suits him, as in the *De Somniis*, to idealize the Jewish Patriarchs for allegorical purpose, here allegory is not required and the perversion of history, quite unlike the sober story of the *De Iosepho*, is distressing. The *De Virtutibus* would gain much if we might suppose that the treatise was incorporated with it under the idea that εὐγένεια, as indeed in one sense it might, should rank among the virtues.

The *De Praemiis* has been described as an epilogue

^a Something of the same sort appears in *De Praem.* 65, but by no means so emphatically. Philo of course was familiar not only with the crime of the brothers against Joseph, but with the outrage of Reuben on Bilhah (Gen. xxxvi. 22; xlix. 4). See also note on Tamar, App. p. 450.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

to the whole Exposition. I am not sure that the description is very suitable, for sanctions after all are a necessary part of any law : at the end of *Spec. Leg.* ii. he has described the penalties attaching to breaches of the first five commandments and those incurred under the second five are frequently mentioned. But in this treatise both rewards and punishments attach to loyalty or disloyalty to the law as a whole and the Exposition would not be complete without them.

The difficulties which I felt about the components of the *De Virtutibus* do not arise in this treatise. Its scheme is perfectly consistent from first to last. Strangely enough, three of the four mss. which contain the work appear to treat the last part, the *De Exsecrationibus*, as a separate work, but its affinity to the part called by Cohn *De Benedictionibus* speaks for itself, while the unity of both parts with the first 78 sections, though broken by a lacuna at that point, is perfectly clear. I was in error when in the Introduction to vol. vii. p. xi I described *De Praemiis* as a treatise on rewards and punishments followed by another *perhaps entirely separate* on blessings and cursings.^a The blessings and cursings are not

^a I wrote this under the influence of Prof. Goodenough's article in *Harvard Theological Review*, April 1933. At the end of this article, with much of which I agree, he pronounces that the blessings and cursings show a totally different spirit to the first part of *De Praem.* So strongly does he feel this that he suspects that they have been substituted for some different conclusion. To me it seems that what difference here is corresponds to the necessary difference between the indefiniteness of the unwritten laws which Philo finds in the patriarchal story and the definiteness of the written law expressed generally in the decalogue and specifically in the other laws. Goodenough rehearses the blessings without

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

another, but the indispensable second half of *De Praemiis*. Indeed the words blessings and curses are misleading. They are the rewards promised and the punishments decreed for the future, as what precede them are those given in the past. We remember that Philo's conception of the Pentateuch, stated in *De Abrahamo* 6 ff. and *Mos.* ii. 47 and briefly in *De Praemiis* 2, is that the historical part containing the lives of saints and sinners constitutes a series of unwritten laws, while the actual law book legislates for the future. The scheme of the *De Praemiis* is in exact accordance with this.

The first part of the treatise follows in the main the scheme of *De Abrahamo* 1-59 with its two

observing or at least without noting, that they are expansions verse by verse of what Philo finds mainly in Leviticus xxvi. and Deuteronomy xxviii. He declares that they lay upon the importance of the specific and literal laws an emphasis unique in Philo's works. They do lay an emphasis on obedience to the written law but so do the originals which he is expounding. But I see no grounds for saying that emphasis is laid on specific laws ; both in the Pentateuch and in Philo the blessings and curses are appointed for loyalty and disloyalty to the law as a whole. The one example of reference to a specific law which Goodenough quotes does not belong to the main thread of the curses but to a transitional meditation in which an explanation is given of the phrase that in the desolation the land will enjoy its Sabbaths.

As Goodenough holds that the Exposition is intended for Gentile readers, he thinks that it is impossible that it should have ended in anything so Judaistic. I see no reason to change my view as given in the Introduction to vol. vii. that Philo writes primarily for Gentiles but also for Jews, and has at one moment the first, at another the second class of readers in view, but even if he was writing for Gentiles, why should they be offended by learning that the law promised high rewards for obedience and terrible punishments for disobedience and apostasy ?

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

triads of Enos, Enoch, Noah representing hope, repentance and justice, and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob representing instruction, nature and practice. And as all these are thought of as values or qualities rather than actual men, the rewards are spiritual rather than material. So too with the family of the second triad, the founders of the twelve tribes who expand not merely into flourishing cities but into schools of *wisdom* and *justice*. So too with the one name which does not appear in the scheme of *De Abrahamo*, Moses. His rewards are the fourfold gifts of kingship, lawgiving, prophecy and priesthood, all conceived of as not mere offices but powers for doing good. The punishment of Cain is treated in something of the same mystical way, and how he would have dealt with Korah and with the two events^a which I surmise to have been contained in the portion lost after § 78, the flood and the destruction of the cities of the plain, we have no certain means of knowing. But I should expect that they were treated literally. The true rewards are to Philo spiritual; punishments are punishments, though not merely vindictive but a means of reformation where possible and of admonition to others.

When we come to the blessings promised in the law for the future Philo has not the same opportunity of letting his mystical fancy range freely as it did in the historical past. These blessings are set down in black and white, chiefly collected in two particular chapters in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and Philo reports them faithfully. Yet it is noteworthy how he takes the opportunity of giving them a spiritual touch where possible. The promise that the evil beasts

^a See note on the lacuna, App. p. 455.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

will be destroyed is not merely read in the light of Isaiah xi. and other passages, but coupled with the necessity of first destroying the evil beasts within the soul (§§ 85 ff.). The promised victories are an opportunity for establishing good government among the conquered (§ 97), and the freedom from bodily disease is justified on the ground that a healthy body is the necessary condition for the proper working of the good mind in which God walks as in a temple and which is itself the crowning blessing (§§ 119 ff.).

The terrific curses are described with a vigour, perhaps unequalled, certainly unsurpassed in Philo's writings. They close in § 152 with the affirmation that the proselyte will be exalted to teach the world the lesson that the only true εὐγένεια is virtuous living. There follows a transitional meditation on the saying that in the desolation the land will enjoy its Sabbaths, ending with a suggestion of the hope of better things, and then his heart goes out in a burst of triumphant patriotism as he predicts the return of the converted remnant, led by the Divine Vision to the land of their fathers, who have all this time been watching over their children and interceding for them.^a

^a I think, however, that we may regret that the last two sections where he develops the text "that the Lord will turn these curses upon thy enemies" show something of the vindictiveness which we find in some of the psalms, and also a conception of εὐγένεια as still latent in the apostate Israel, which is not quite the same as that of the *De Nob.* or § 152 above.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

NOTE ON THE SUB-TITLES AND NUMERATION OF CHAPTERS IN COHN'S EDITION

This is indicated throughout in the footnotes, but collected here for convenience.

Spec. Leg. iv.

The natural division of this gives four parts :

The eighth commandment	.	.	§§ 1-40
The ninth commandment	.	.	§§ 41-72
The tenth commandment	.	.	§§ 79-135
<i>On Justice</i>	.	.	§§ 136-end

Cohn, however, while marking the beginning of the ninth commandment by the heading *Ὁ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις* (*De Falso Testimonio*), continues the same numeration of chapters till § 55, when he gives the heading *Τὰ πρὸς δικαστήν* (*De Iudice*) and begins a fresh numeration. At § 79 with the tenth commandment we have the sub-title *Ὁὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* (*De Concupiscentia*), and a third numeration which takes us on to § 135. Then a fourth numeration with the sub-title *Περὶ δικαιοσύνης* (*De Iustitia*), which continues only to § 151, when comes a fifth numeration, under the head of *Κατάστασις ἀρχόντων* (*De Constitutione Principum*), and this regardless of the contents goes on to the end. Cohn marks his sense of the unreasonableness of this last division in the heading of his pages—where the sub-title *De Iustitia* (following in brackets *De Spec. Leg.* iv.) is continued from § 136 to the end.

The arrangement in *De Virtutibus* is far less complicated. The four obvious divisions of *De Fortitudine*, *De Humanitate*, *De Poenitentia* and *De Nobilitate*, have all in Cohn's edition as in mine their proper sub-titles, and in his a fresh numeration for each.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In *De Praemiis* Cohn, both in the headings and the numeration, ignores the point that at § 78 a new subdivision which he rightly calls *De Benedictionibus* begins, and his one new numeration comes at § 127 with the *De Exsecrationibus*. This he gives in the heading of the pages as the sole title, not as subtitle following *De Praemiis* in brackets. This is entirely contrary to his practice in the rest of the volume and is, I suppose, a concession to the fact that the mss., evidently wrongly, class it as a separate treatise.

The numerations then run as follows :

SPEC. LEG. IV.

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Furto et Falso Testi-</i>		
<i>monio</i>	i.-viii.	i.-viii.
<i>De Iudice</i>	i.-v.	ix.-xiii.
<i>De Concupiscentia</i>	i.-xii.	xiv.-xxv.
<i>De Iustitia</i>	i.-iii.	xxvi.-xxviii.
<i>De Constitutione Principum</i>	i.-xiv.	xxix.-xlii.

DE VIRTUTIBUS

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Fortitudine</i>	i.-viii.	i.-viii.
<i>De Humanitate</i>	i.-xxiv.	ix.-xxxii.
<i>De Poenitentia</i>	i.-ii.	xxxiii.-xxxiv.
<i>De Nobilitate</i>	i.-vii.	xxxv.-xli.

DE PRAEMIIS

	COHN	THIS TRANSLATION
<i>De Praemiis et Poenis</i>	i.-xx.	i.-xx.
<i>De Exsecrationibus</i>	i.-ix.	xxi.-xxix.

LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis
Abelis et Caini)
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori
insidiari solet)
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-
mutabilis sit)
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-
guarum)
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione
Abrahami)
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)
On Joseph (De Iosepho)
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)
Flaccus (In Flaccum)
Hypothetica¹ (Apologia pro Iudaeis)
On Providence¹ (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)
- GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.

² Extant only in an Armenian version.

THE SPECIAL LAWS
(DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, IV

The first part of this treatise (1-135) deals with particular laws falling under the eighth, ninth and tenth commandments. We begin with the eighth. Note that robbery with violence is a worse crime than mere stealing, which is punished by a two-fold restitution, so if the thief cannot pay he may be sold into temporary slavery (2-4). Some considerations follow showing that this is not too severe (5-6). A housebreaker caught in the act may be killed in the night-time, but in daylight the ordinary legal process must be observed (7-10). Also the law provides a higher rate of compensation, if sheep and, still more, if oxen are stolen, reckoned, Philo thinks, according to the services they render to mankind (11-12). Kidnapping is another worse form of stealing, especially if the sufferer is an Israelite (13-19). Damage done by the trespassing of other people's cattle, or by fire started carelessly, also calls for compensation (20-29). Then follows an account of the complicated procedure laid down by the law when anything deposited or lent is stolen from the depositary or borrower (30-38). And this part concludes with shewing how stealing leads up to other crimes culminating in perjury (39-40).

The ninth commandment. We begin with false witness in the literal sense, but pass almost at once to the thought that assent to evil, especially when it arises from subservience to the multitude, comes under the same head (41-47). And so do the deceits of the practisers of divination, which is really false witness against God (48-54). So, too, does any dereliction on the part of judges, who must remember the sacredness of their office (55-58). Three of their special duties are emphasized by the law. First, not to listen to idle reports (59-61). Secondly, to receive no gifts, even if no injustice results. To do this is to forget that just and honest actions may be vitiated by being done with dishonest motives (62-66).

PHILO

This leads to a digression on the supreme importance of truthfulness and how it is often lost by bad associations in childhood and how it is symbolized in the place given to it on the breastplate of the high priest (67-69). Thirdly, the judge must not respect persons but must consider only the facts (70-71). And the particular injunction not in giving judgement to show mercy to the poor causes him to point out that the law calls also on the possessor of any authority to remember his weaker brethren and only means that the guilty cannot plead poverty to escape from punishment (72-77). We now pass on to the tenth commandment (78).

The commandment "Thou shalt not desire" leads to a long disquisition, much of it repeating what was said of it in *De Decalogo* on the evils which spring from the desire of what one has not got (79-94). The lawgiver realizing this showed the necessity of restraining concupiscence by regulating, as an example, one particular form, the appetite for food and drink (95-97). He did this, first, by demanding the first fruits (98-99). Secondly, by the dietary laws on the use of the flesh of beasts, fishes and fowls (100-101). All carnivorous beasts are on the prohibited list, and only ten species, which divide the hoof and chew the cud, are allowed (102-104). An allegorical explanation of these two qualifications follows (105-109). Of fishes only such that have scales and fins are permitted, and again an allegorical explanation is given (110-112). So also creeping things with few exceptions (113-115), predatory birds (116-118), flesh of animals that have died a natural death or been torn by wild beasts (119-121) are forbidden. Eating strangled animals and taking blood and fat are also forbidden (122-125). The need of restraint is illustrated from the story of the quails and the visitation that followed that craving for flesh (126-131).

So much for the particular laws falling under one or other of the Ten Commandments, but the cardinal virtues belong to all the ten, and we must note how these virtues are exemplified in various laws. For piety, wisdom or prudence and temperance, this has been done sufficiently. There remain three others, justice, courage or fortitude and humanity or kindness. The rest of this treatise is concerned with the exemplification of justice (132-135). We need not here repeat what was said about judges and law-courts when treating the ninth commandment, but before going on to

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV

our subject, we give some general thoughts on justice (136). First, there is the injunction to record the laws in the heart, on the hand and before the eyes and on the doors and on the gates (137-142). Secondly, that nothing is to be added or taken away, which may be taken to suggest that each virtue is a mean, which must not be allowed to degenerate into the extremes on the other side (143-148). Thirdly, that in the law, "not to remove the landmarks which thy forefathers set up," we may see a command to observe the unwritten law of custom (149-150).

Now for the exemplification of justice. First, as seen in the ruler or king. He must not be chosen by lot, a system which we see in ordinary matters to be absurd (151-156), but by election by the people, confirmed by God, and this ruler is not to be a foreigner (157-159). The ruler must copy out and study the law and its principles (160-169). Thirdly, he must follow the example of Moses in appointing subordinates to decide minor cases, but reserve the greater for himself (170-175). And the greater are those which concern not great people but the weak and helpless, the stranger, the widow and the orphan (176-178). And as orphanhood is the condition of the Jews as a nation (179-182), the ruler must use no guile but hold himself to be the father of his people (183-187). But the ruler or judge may sometimes find cases too difficult for him, in which case they are to be referred to the priests (188-192). Leaving the duties of the ruler, we have the following general rules of justice. There must be complete honesty in commerce (193-194). Wages must be paid on the same day (195-196). The deaf and the blind are not to be ill-treated (197-202). The ordinances about mating different species, ploughing with ox and ass together, and wearing garments of mixed material and sowing the vineyard to bear two kinds of fruit, are treated as rules of justice (203-207). This last is discussed at greater length as injustice to the land like the violation of the sabbatical year (208-218). Next we have the laws of warfare, willingness to make terms, severity if they are not accepted, but mercy to the women (219-225), and joined with this is the prohibition of destroying the fruit-trees (226-229). The treatise concludes with the praises of justice, the daughter of that equality which is the general principle of all life as well as of the cosmic system (230-238).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ
ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΑ ΓΕΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ
ΛΟΓΙΩΝ, ΤΟ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΝΑΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ, ΤΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ
ΚΛΕΠΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ <ΜΗ> ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥ-
ΡΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ,
ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ, Η ΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ
ΔΕΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΟΙΣ ΕΦΑΡΜΟΖΕΙ, Ο ΕΣΤΙ
ΤΗΣ ΟΛΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ <ΤΕΛΟΣ>

- 1 I. Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ ἀνδροφονίᾳ καὶ ὅσα
[335] | ἐκατέρᾳ τούτων ὑποστέλλει νόμιμα μετὰ πάσης
ἀκριβείας, ὥς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, λέλεκται πρό-
τερον. τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον τῇ τάξει συνεπισκεπτέον, ὃ
τι τρίτον μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ στήλῃ, τῶν
δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὀγδοον, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κλέπτειν.
2 ὃς ἂν ἄγῃ ἢ φέρῃ τὰ ἑτέρου, μὴ δέον, ἐὰν μὲν βία
καὶ φανερώς τοῦτο ποιῇ, κοινὸς ἀναγραφέσθω
[336] πολέμιος, | [γεγράφθω] παρανομία συνυφαίνων

^a See App. p. 425.

^b In the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, ἄγειν, according to the

THE SPECIAL LAWS

BOOK IV

TON HE SPECIAL LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER THREE OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, THE EIGHTH AGAINST STEALING, THE NINTH AGAINST BEARING FALSE WITNESS, THE TENTH AGAINST COVETOUSNESS, AND ON LAWS WHICH FALL UNDER EACH, AND ON JUSTICE WHICH IS PROPER TO ALL TEN, WHICH CONCLUDES THE WHOLE TREATISE.^a

I. The laws directed against adultery and murder 1 and the offences which fall under either head have been already discussed with all possible fullness as I venture to think. But we must also examine the one which follows next in order, the third in the second table or eighth in the two taken together, which forbids stealing. Anyone who carries off 2 any kind of property ^b belonging to another and to which he has no right must be written down as a public enemy,^c if he does so openly and with violence, because he combines shameless effrontery with

lexicon, applies properly to animals, *φέρειν* to other property. But the phrase seems to have become almost proverbial to cover any kind of misappropriation.

^c For the kind of punishment which this term implies see § 23.

PHILO

ἀναίσχυντον θράσος, ἐὰν δὲ κρύφα, λανθάνειν ἐπιχειρῶν φωρὸς τρόπον, αἰδῶ προκάλυμμα ποιούμενος τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων [τὸ σκότος],¹ ἰδίᾳ κολαζέσθω μόνον ὧν ὑπόδικος ὧν ἐπεχείρησε βλάπτειν καὶ κατατιθέτω διπλοῦν τὸ φῶριον, ἄδικον ὠφέλειαν
 3 ἐξιώμενος βλάβῃ δικαιοσύνη. ἐὰν δὲ ἄπορος ὧν ἐκτίνειν ἀδυνατῇ τό γε ἐπιτίμιον, πιπρασκέσθω—θέμις γὰρ ἐλευθερίας στέρεσθαι τὸν ὑπομείναντα κέρδους παρανομωτάτου δοῦλον εἶναι—, ἵνα μὴδ' ὁ πεπονθὼς κακῶς ἀπαρηγόρητος ἀφελθεῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κεκλοφότος ἀχρηματίαν ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι δοκῇ. ἀλλὰ μὴδεις ἀπανθρωπίαν καταγνώτω τοῦ διατάγματος· ὁ γὰρ πραθεὶς οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν ἔσται δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ἑπταετίας ἀπαλλάττεται κοινῶ

¹ So Heinemann. Mangey <καὶ> τὸ σκότος. Cohn <δι'> αἰδῶ. As the thief does not necessarily steal in the dark, τὸ σκότος is absurd, and the insertion may be easily accounted for from § 7. As it is here printed, the phrase, as Heinemann points out, is exactly the same as *Spec. Leg.* iii. 54, of the guilty wife who confesses her sin and thus avoids the culminating guilt of ἀναισχυντία.

^a Philo could hardly have justified this from Ex. xxii., unless perhaps he argues that the permission to kill the housebreaker shows that the law took a severer view of violence. For analogies in Roman and other law see App. p. 425.

^b This I think must be the meaning, though it gives the phrase a somewhat different sense from what it bears in § 7. Heinemann has merely "veils his crime in shame"; Goodenough "making a veil of shame for his sin."

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 2-4

defiance of the law.^a But if he does it secretly and tries to avoid observation like a thief, since his ashamedness serves to palliate his misdeeds,^b he must be punished in his private capacity, and, as he is liable only for the damage which he has attempted to work, he must repay the stolen goods twofold^c and thus by the damage which he most justly suffers make full amends for the injustice of his gains. If his lack of means makes³ the payment of this penalty impossible he must be sold,^d since it is only right that one who has allowed himself to become a slave to profit-making of an utterly lawless kind should be deprived of his liberty. And in this way the injured party also will not be turned away without a solatium or seem to have his interest neglected through the impecuniosity of the thief. No one should denounce this sentence as⁴ inhuman, for the person sold is not left a slave for all time but he is released at or before the seventh year^e under the general proclamation as I have shown

^c Ex. xxii. 4. LXX "if the thing stolen be left and found in his hand, from an ass to a sheep alive, he shall repay them double." Philo's generalization is supported by v. 7, where it says of goods stolen from a neighbour to whom they have been given to keep "if the thief is found, he shall repay double." So also v. 9. See also App. p. 425.

^d Ex. xxii. 3, though this properly applies to the house-breaker.

^e Heinemann translates "at the beginning of the seventh year," which will make better sense if *ἐντός* can mean this. I have understood it to mean that he is to be released at the sabbatical year, whether he has served a full six or not. But this involves a contradiction of Ex. xxi. 2, and of Philo's own statement in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 122, where liberation independent of the time served only applies to the Jubile, not to the sabbatical year.

- κηρύγματι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐβδόμης¹ ἐδήλωσα.
- 5 καὶ ἀγαπάτω διπλοῦν ἐκτίνων τὸ φῶριον
 ἢ καὶ πιπρασκόμενος, ἀδικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα· πρῶτον μὲν
 ὅτι τοῖς οὖσιν οὐκ ἀρκοῦμενος περιττοτέρων ὀρέγεται,
 πλεονεξίαν, ἐπίβουλον καὶ δυσίατον πάθος, ἐπιτει-
 χίζων· δεύτερον δ' ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις προσοφθαλ-
 μιῶν καὶ ἐπικεχηνῶς τὰς ἐπὶ νοσφισμῷ πάγας
 τίθεται, τοὺς κυρίους ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀφαιρούμενος·
 τρίτον δ' ὅτι καὶ λανθάνειν ἐπιτηδεύων τὰς² μὲν ἐκ
 τοῦ πράγματος ὠφελείας μόνος ἔστιν ὅτε καρποῦ-
 ται, τὰ δ' ἐγκλήματα τρέπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιτίους,
 τυφλὴν ἀπεργαζόμενος τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς ἀληθείας.
- 6 ἔοικε δέ πως καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ὑπὸ
 τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος ἐν οἷς ὑφαιρεῖται λάθρα,
 πάντως αἰσχυρόμενος ἢ εὐλαβούμενος, ὧν τὸ μὲν
 ἐστὶ σημεῖον τοῦ τὴν πράξιν αἰσχυρὰν ὑπειληφέναι
 —τὰ γὰρ αἰσχυρὰ αἰσχύνην ἐπιφέρει—τὸ δὲ τοῦ
 κολάσεως ἄξιον νομίζεσθαι, δέος γὰρ ἐμποιοῦσιν
 αἱ κολάσεις.
- 7 II. Ἐάν τις ἔρωτι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιμανεὶς
 κλέπτειν ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος εὐπετῶς ὑφαι-
 ρεῖσθαι τοιχωρυχῇ νύκτωρ, προκαλύμμα ποιού-
 μενος ὧν ἀδικεῖ τὸ σκότος, ἀλοὺς μὲν ἐπ'
 αὐτοφώρῳ, πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δι-
 ορύγματι πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότης οἰκίας ἀναιρείσθω,

¹ So Mangey and Cohn for mss. ἐβδομάδος. But see note on *De Dec.* 158 (vol. vii. p. 613) on the interchange of the two words.

² mss. ἐπιτηδεύοντας.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 5-7

in the treatise on the seventh day.^a Nor 5
need he complain because he has to repay twice
the value of the stolen goods, or even if he
is sold. For he is guilty in several ways. First
because dissatisfied with what he has he desires a
greater abundance and thus fortifies the malignant
and well-nigh deadly passion of coveteousness.
Secondly because it is the property of others which
he eyes so avidly and sets his snares to secure for
himself and deprive the owners of their possession.
Thirdly because the concealment which he also
practises, while it secures him the profits of the
business often for his sole enjoyment, leads him
to divert the charge in each case to innocent persons
and so blindfold the quest for the truth. It would 6
seem too that he is his own accuser, since his con-
science convicts him when he filches in this stealthy
way, for he must be actuated by shame or fear.
Shame is a sign that he feels his conduct to be dis-
graceful, for only disgraceful actions are followed
by shame. Fear would show that he considers
himself to deserve punishment, for it is the thought
of punishment which produces terror.

II. If anyone crazed with a passion for other 7
people's property sets himself to take it by theft
and, because he cannot easily manage it by stealth,
breaks into a house during the night, using the
darkness to cloak his criminal doings, he may, if
caught in the act before sunrise, be slain by the
householder in the very place where he has broken

^a See *Spec. Leg.* ii. 122. The general proclamation appar-
ently refers to that mentioned in Lev. xxv. 10, though that
also applies only to the year of Jubile, and not to the ordinary
sabbatical year. But see App. p. 426.

[337] τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον | ἔργον ἔλαττον ἐξεργαζόμενος, κλοπὴν, τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον μεῖζον, ἀνδροφονίαν, <διανοούμενος, εἰ> διακωλύοι τις, ὀρυκτῆρσιν οἷς ἐπιφέρεται σιδηροῖς καὶ ἑτέροις ὅπλοις ἀμύνεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος· εἰ δ' ἥλιος ἀνάσχοι, μηκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐτοχειρία κτεινέσθω, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἀγέσθω δώσω δίκας, ἃς ἂν
 8 ἐπικελεύουσιν οὗτοι. νύκτωρ μὲν <γὰρ> οἴκοι διατριβόντων καὶ τετραμμένων πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀρχόντων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμία τῷ πλημμελουμένῳ καταφυγὴ πρὸς βοήθειαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἔστω κύριος τῆς τιμωρίας, ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ κατα-
 9 σταθεὶς ἄρχων καὶ δικαστής. μεθ' ἡμέραν μέντοι ἀναπέπταται δικαστήρια καὶ βουλευτήρια, ἐπλήθυνε δὲ τῶν συλληψομένων ἢ πόλις, ὧν οἱ μὲν φύλακες τῶν νόμων κεχειροτόνηνται, οἱ δ' ἄνευ χειροτονίας μισοπονήρῳ πάθει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδικημένων αὐτοκέλευστοι τάξιν αἰροῦνται· πρὸς οὓς τὸν κλέπτην ἀκτέον· οὕτως γὰρ τὰς ἐπ' αὐθαδεῖα καὶ προπετεῖα φεύγων αἰτίας δημοκρατικώτερον αὐτῷ
 10 δόξει βοηθεῖν. ἐὰν ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντος ἡλίου τὸν φῶρὰ τις αὐτοχειρία κτείνῃ πρὸ δίκης, ἔνοχος ἔστω, θυμὸν λογισμοῦ προτιμήσας καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ὑστέρῳ θείς. μὴ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ νύκτωρ ἡδίκησαι, φαίην ἂν, ὦ οὗτος, ὑπὸ κλέπτου,

^a Or "in the very act of breaking in." See Ex. xxii. 2, where the LXX has, as here, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ διορύγματι εὑρεθῇ (E.V. "found breaking in"). Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 271, has καὶ ἥ πρὸς διορύγματι τειχίου and understands it to mean "even though he has got no farther than the breach." So possibly also Philo by his αὐτῷ. On the exact meaning of διορύγμα and illustrations of the law on this point see App. p. 426.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 7-10

in.^a Though actually engaged on the primary but minor crime of theft he is intending the major though secondary crime of murder, since he is prepared if prevented by anyone to defend himself with the iron burglar's tools which he carries and other weapons. But if the sun has risen the case is different; he must not be killed off hand^b but taken before magistrates and judges to pay such penalties as they prescribe. For in the night time when 8 rulers and ordinary citizens alike are settled down at home and retiring to rest, the aggrieved person cannot seek out any one to succour him, and therefore he must take the punishment into his own hands, as the occasion appoints him to be magistrate and judge. In the day time however law courts 9 and council chambers stand wide open and there are plenty of people to help him in the city, some of them elected to maintain the laws, others who without such election are so moved by their hatred of evil that they need none to bid them to take the rôle of championing the injured. Before these must the thief be brought, for in this way the owner will escape the charges of wilfulness and recklessness and show that he protects himself in the spirit of true democracy. And if the sun is above the 10 horizon he must be held guilty if he anticipates justice by killing him off hand. He has preferred angry passion to reason and subordinated the law to his personal desire for vengeance. "My friend," I would say to him, "do not because you have been

^b Or "with his own hand," which is the only meaning admitted by the lexicon, but see note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 91, where the meaning of "offhand" or "on the spot" seems required by the sense.

διὰ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν κλοπὴν αὐτὸς ἀπεργάζου χαλεπωτέραν, οὐ τὴν ἐν χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις, καθ' ἃ συμβαίνει τὴν πολιτείαν διατετάχθαι.

- 11 III. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα φώρια τετίμηται διπλῇ καταθέσει. βούν δὲ ἢ πρόβατον εἴ τις ὑφέλοιτο, μείζονος ἡξίωσε δίκης προνομίαν διδούς ζώοις, ἃ καλλιστεύει τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέροις ἀγέλαις οὐ μόνον εὐμορφία σώματος ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὠφελείαις. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν ἴσην ὥρισεν, ἀλλὰ τὰς χρεῖας διαριθμησάμενος, ἃς ἐκάτερον παρέχεται τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀνάλογον καὶ τὴν ἔκτισιν
- 12 ἐνομοθέτησε. κελεύει γὰρ τέτταρα μὲν πρόβατα ἀποτίνειν βούς δὲ πέντε τὸν κλέπτην ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ ὑφαιρεθέντος, ἐπειδὴ πρόβατον μὲν φέρει δασμοὺς τέτταρας, γάλα καὶ τυρὸν καὶ ἔρια καὶ ἐτησίους ἄρνας, ὁ δὲ βούς πέντε, τρεῖς μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ καὶ γεννήμασι, δύο δ' ἐξαιρέτους, ἄροτον γῆς καὶ ἀλοητόν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρχή
- [338] σπορᾶς καρπῶν, | ὁ δὲ τέλος εἰς κάθαρσιν τῶν συγκομισθέντων πρὸς ἐτοιμοτέραν τροφῆς χρήσιν.
- 13 IV. Κλέπτῃς δὲ τίς ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀνδραποδιστής, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου, ὅσα ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀψυχα καὶ τῶν ζώων ἃ μὴ μεγάλας ὠφελείας παρέχεται τῷ βίῳ διπλᾷ προσ-

^a Ex. xxii. 1. Philo, as also Jos. *Ant.* iv. 272, ignores the fact that the additional payment only applies if the animal has been killed or sold.

^b For the supposed connexion of this explanation with Stoic doctrine see App. p. 426.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 10-13

wronged by a thief in the night time commit in daylight a more grievous theft, in which the spoil is not money but the principles of justice, on which the ordering of the commonwealth is based."

III. Other stolen goods then are to be paid for¹¹ at twice their value, but if the thief has taken a sheep or an ox the law estimates them worthy of a larger penalty, thus giving precedence to the animals which excel all the other domesticated kinds not only in comeliness of body but in the benefits they bring to human life.^a This was the reason why he made a difference even between the two just named in the amount of the penalty to be paid. He reckoned up the services which each of them renders and ordained that the compensation should correspond thereto. The thief has¹² to pay four sheep but five oxen for the one that he has stolen because the sheep renders four contributions, milk, cheese, wool and the lambs which are born every year, while the ox makes five, three the same as the sheep, of milk, cheese and offspring, and two peculiar to itself, ploughing and threshing, the first of them being the beginning of the sowing of the crops, the second their end, serving to purge them when harvested and make them more ready to be used as food.^b

IV. The kidnapper^c too is a kind of thief who¹³ steals the best of all the things that exist on the earth. In the case of lifeless articles and such animals as do not render high benefits to life, the

^a See Ex. xxi. 16, Deut. xxiv. 7. In Exodus the death penalty is decreed for manstealing in general according to the Hebrew, but in the LXX only if the person stolen is an Israelite. In Deuteronomy both versions limit it to Israelites. See App. p. 427 on this and § 19.

- τέταχεν ἀποδίδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑφελομένων τοῖς κυρίοις, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, καὶ πάλιν τετραπλάσια καὶ πενταπλάσια ἐν ταῖς ἡμερωτάταις ἀγέλαις
- 14 βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων. ἄνθρωπος δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν καλλιστεύοντα κλῆρον ἔλαχεν ἐν ζώοις, ἀγχίσπορος ὢν θεοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς λόγον κοινωνίαν, ὃς αὐτὸν καίτοι θνητὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἀπαθανατίζει. διὸ καὶ πᾶς, ὅτῳ ζῆλος ἀρετῆς εἰσέρχεται, τραχὺς ἐστὶ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ παντελῶς ἀμείλικτος κατὰ ἀνδραποδιστῶν, οἳ δουλείαν ἔνεκα κέρδους ἀδικωτάτου τοῖς γένει μὲν ἐλευθέροις φύσεως δὲ μετέχουσι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπάγειν τολμῶ-
- 15 σιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπαινετὸν πρᾶγμα δεσπότηι ποιοῦσιν οἰκότρυβας καὶ ἀργυρωνήτους, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις ὀνήσαντας, τῆς κατεχούσης δουλείας ἀπαλλάττοντες ἔνεκα φιλανθρωπίας ἢ κέχρηνται, πόσης ἄξιοι κατηγορίας τυγχάνειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ πάντων ἄριστον κτῆμα, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀφαιρούμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀποθνήσκειν καλὸν
- 16 τοῖς γεννηθεῖσιν εὖ καὶ τραφεῖσιν; ἤδη τινὲς τὴν σύμφυτον μοχθηρίαν προσαύξοντες καὶ τὸ ἐπίβουλون ἦθος αὐτῶν τρέποντες εἰς τὸ ἄσπονδον οὐκ [ἐπ'] ἀλλοδαποῖς μόνον καὶ ἀλλογενέσιν ἀνδραποδισμὸν κατεσκεύασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔθνους, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ δημόταις καὶ φυλῆταις, ἀλογήσαντες κοινωνίας νόμων τε καὶ ἐθῶν, οἷς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνετράφησαν, ἅπερ βεβαιο-

^a Cf. Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391 E, and note to *Mos.* i. 279.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 13-16

value by order of the law has to be repaid twofold to the owner by the purloiners, as I have said above, and again fourfold and fivefold in the case of the most domesticated kinds of livestock, sheep and oxen. But it is the lot of man, as we see, to occupy 14 the place of highest excellence among living creatures because his stock is near akin to God,^a sprung from the same source in virtue of his participation in reason which gives him immortality, mortal though he seems to be. And therefore everyone who is inspired with a zeal for virtue is severe of temper and absolutely implacable against men-stealers, who for the sake of a most unrighteous profit do not shrink from reducing to slavery those who not only are freemen by birth but are of the same nature as themselves. If it is a praiseworthy 15 action when masters in the humaneness of their hearts release from the yoke of servitude their home-bred or purchased slaves, though often they have brought them no great profit, how great a condemnation do they deserve who rob those who enjoy liberty of that most precious of all possessions for which men of noble birth and breeding feel that it is an honour to die.

Indeed we 16 have known of some who improve on their inborn depravity and developing the malice of their disposition to complete heartlessness have directed their man-stealing operations, not only against men of other countries and other races but also against those of their own nation, sometimes their fellow wardsmen or tribesmen. They disregard their partnership in the laws and customs in which they have been bred from their earliest years, customs which stamp the sense of benevolence so firmly on

- τάτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς εὖνοιαν ἐνσφραγίζεται τῶν μὴ
 17 λίαν ἀτιθάσων καὶ μὴ ἐπιτηδευόντων ὠμότητα· οἱ
 χάριν κέρδους ἐκνομωτάτου πιπράσκουσιν ἀνδρα-
 ποδοκαπήλοις καὶ οἷς ἂν τύχῃ δουλεύσοντας ἐπὶ
 ξένης ἀνεπανάκτους, μηδ' ὄναρ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος
 ἔδαφος ἔτι προσκυνήσοντας ἢ χρηστῆς ἀπογευσο-
 μένους ἐλπίδος. ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἡδίκουν ὑπηρετού-
 μενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀνδραποδισθέντων· νυνὶ δὲ
 διπλάσιον ἀδίκημα δρώσιν ἀπεμπολοῦντες, ἀνθ'
 ἐνὸς δύο δεσπότης καὶ διττὰς δουλείας ἐπιτειχί-
 18 ζοντες ἐφέδρους. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν
 παλαιὰν εὐτυχίαν τῶν ὑπηγμένων ἴσως ἂν μετα-
 [339] νοήσαιεν ὁψὲ λαβόντες οἶκτον τῶν ἐπταικότων, |
 τὸ τῆς τύχης¹ ἄδηλον καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον καταιδεσθέν-
 τες· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι δι' ἄγνοιαν τοῦ γένους ὡς ἐκ
 πατέρων καὶ προπάππων οἰκετῶν ὀλιγωρήσουσιν,
 οὐδὲν ἀγωγὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχοντες εἰς ἡμερότητα
 καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις
 19 σῶζεσθαι φύσει. δίκη δ' ἔστω κατὰ μὲν
 τῶν ἑτεροεθνεῖς ἀνδραποδισαμένων, ἣν ἂν τιμήση-
 ται τὸ δικαστήριον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν τοὺς ὁμοφύλους
 πρὸς τῷ ἀνδραποδίσασθαι καὶ πεπρακότων θάνατος
 ἀπαραίτητος· ἥδη γὰρ οὗτοί γε συγγενεῖς εἰσιν οὐ
 πόρρω τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος κατὰ² μείζονα περιγραφὴν
 γειννῶντες.
- 20 V. “Καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ” καθάπερ εἶπέ τις τῶν πάλαι
 “φύονται δίκαι,” ἐπειδὴ πλεονεξίαι καὶ ὁ τῶν
 ἀλλοτρίων ἡμερος οὐκ ἐν ἄστει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω
 πόλεως ἐστίν, ἅτε μὴ τόπων διαφοραῖς ἀλλὰ δια-

¹ MSS. ψυχῆς.² MSS. καὶ τὰ.^a Source unknown.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 16-20

the souls of all who are not exceedingly barbarous nor make a practice of cruelty. For the sake of an 17 utterly unlawful profit they sell their captives to slave dealers or any chance comers to live in slavery in a foreign land never to return, never even to dream of again saluting the soil of their native country or to know the taste of comforting hope. Their iniquity would be less if they themselves retained the services of their captives. As it is, their guilt is doubled when they barter them away and raise up to menace them two masters instead of one and two successive servitudes. For they 18 themselves, as they know the former prosperity of those who are now in their power, might perhaps come to a better mind and feel a belated pity for their fallen state, remembering with awe how uncertain and incalculable fortune is, while the purchasers knowing nothing of their origin and supposing them to have generations of servitude behind them will despise them, and have nothing in their souls to incline them to that natural gentleness and humanity which they may be expected to maintain in dealing with the free born. The 19 punishment for kidnapping, if the captives belong to foreign nations, should be such as is adjudged by the court ; if they are fellow nationals whom they have not only kidnapped but sold, it is death without hope of reprieve. Yes indeed, for such persons are kinsfolk, bound by a tie closely bordering on blood relationship though with a wider compass.

V. "In the country also lawsuits spring up," says 20 one of the ancients.^a Examples of greed and the desire for other people's property are found not only in the town but also outside its walls, since

PHILO

- νοίαις ἀκορέστων <καὶ> φιλαπεχθημόνων ἀνδρῶν
 21 ἐνιδρυμένους. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ εὐνομώτα-
 ται διττοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας αἰροῦνται τῆς
 κοινῆς εὐκοσμίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας, τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς
 τοῦ τείχους, οὓς ἀστυνόμους προσαγορεύουσι, τοὺς
 δ' ἐκτός, οἷς ὄνομα οἰκείον τίθενται, καλοῦσι γὰρ
 αὐτοὺς ἀγρονόμους· ἀγρονόμων δὲ τίς ἂν ᾗν χρεία
 τὸ πᾶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ἡσάν τινες ἐπὶ λύμῃ
 22 τῶν πλησίον ζῶντες; εἰ οὖν τις ποιμὴν ἢ αἰπόλος
 ἢ βουκόλος ἢ συνόλως ἀγελάρχης ἀγρὸν ἑτέρου
 βόσκη καὶ κατανέμῃ φειδῶ μηδεμίαν ποιούμενος
 μήτε καρπῶν μήτε δένδρων, ὅμοιον ἀποτινέτω
 23 κτῆμα¹ προσόδου τῆς ἴσης. καὶ ἀγαπάτω τοῦθ'
 ὑπομένων, ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ σφόδρα συγγνώμονος τυ-
 χῶν τοῦ νόμου, ὃς αὐτὸν τὰ πολεμίων ἀσπόνδων
 ἐργασάμενον, οἷς τὰς ἀρούρας δηοῦν ἔθος καὶ φυτὰ
 ἡμερα διαφθείρειν, οὐχ ὥς κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐτιμωρή-
 σατο θάνατον ἢ φυγὴν ἢ τὸ γοῦν τελευταῖον,
 ἀπάσης στέρησιν τῆς οὐσίας, ὀρίσας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ
 μόνον δικαίως ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸ βλάβος τῷ
 24 κυρίῳ. προφάσεις γὰρ αἰεὶ ζητῶν, αἷς ἐπελαφριεῖ
 τὰ ἀτυχήματα, δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἡμερότητα καὶ

¹ So MSS. Possibly *τμήμα* or *τίμημα*.

^a For what is known about this official title see App. p. 427.

^b Ex. xxii. 5. E.V. "of the best of his own field and of the best of his own vineyards shall he make restitution." The LXX has "he shall repay from his field according to its produce," a vague expression which might mean (or Philo might take it to mean) either that he made compensation with a piece of land or with the fruits. Heinemann, supposing that Philo meant the former, adopted Cohn's suggestion of *τμήμα*

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 20-24

that desire is based not on differences of situation but on the thoughts of insatiable and quarrelsome men. And therefore the most law-abiding states 21 elect two kinds of superintendents and magistrates to maintain the general safety and good order, one kind to act within the walls called "town warden," the other outside them bearing the appropriate name of "country warden,"^a and what need could there be of the last if there were not people in the landed estates also who lived to do harm to their neighbours? So if anyone in charge of sheep or goats or a herd 22 of any kind feeds and pastures his beasts in the fields of another and does nothing to spare the fruits or the trees, he must recoup the owner in kind by property of equal value.^b And he must suffer this without 23 complaining. The law has shown itself reasonable and exceedingly forgiving in its treatment of him. Though his actions are such as are committed in internecine war, where it is customary to lay waste arable fields and destroy the cultivated plants, it has not punished him as a public enemy by sentencing him to death or banishment, or at the very least ^c to forfeiture of his whole property, but merely called upon him to make good the damage to the owner. For since it always seeks pretexts for 24 alleviating the state of the unfortunate, so vast is

"a slice" for κτήμα. κτήματα (plural)=landed possessions, *De Virt.* 90, 100, and elsewhere, but κτήμα (singular) is a strange word for a piece of land. Philo possibly uses it because he feels uncertain between the two alternatives. If emendation is needed τίμημα might be worth considering. I take ὁμοιον to mean that the compensation is not paid in money.

^c τὸ τελευταῖον, "the extreme of clemency," cf. *De Ios.* 249 and my note.

τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης φιланθρωπίαν, εὗρεν ἀπολογίαὺς οὐκ ἀπωδὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νομέως, τὴν φύσιν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἄλογον οὖσαν καὶ ἀπειθῇ, καὶ
 25 μάλισθ' ὅταν ὀρέγῃται τροφῆς. ἔστω μὲν οὖν ὑπόδικος, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤλασε τὴν ἀγέλην εἰς ἀνεπιτήδειον χωρίον· μὴ πάντων δὲ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἐχέτω τὰς αἰτίας, εἰκὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ κακοῦ
 [340] | λαβόντα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐξελαύνειν ἐπιχειρεῖν τάχιστα, τὴν δ' ἅτε χλοηφαγοῦσαν, ἀπαλῶν τε¹ καρπῶν καὶ βλαστῶν ἐμπορουμένην, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν.

- 26 VI. Βλάπτουσι δ' οὐ μόνον κατανέμοντες βοσκήμασιν ἀλλοτρίας κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ ἀπερὶσκέπτως καὶ ἀπροοράτως ἀναφλέγοντες. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις ὕλης λαβομένη πανταχόσε ἄττουσα νέμεται τε καὶ χεῖται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ κρατήσῃ, σβεστηρίων ὅσα ἂν ἐπιφέρῃ τις ἀλογεῖ καταχρωμένη καὶ τούτοις ἀντὶ τροφῆς εἰς συναύξησιν, ἕως ἂν πάντα ἐξαναλώσασα αὐτὴ δαπανηθῇ πρὸς αὐτῆς.
 27 προσήκει δὲ μήτ' ἐν οἰκίαις μήτ' ἐπαύλεσιν ἀφύλακτον πῦρ ἔαν, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι σπινθὴρ ἐντυφόμενος εἰς πολλάκις ἀνερριπίσθῃ καὶ μεγάλας ἐνέπρῃσῃ πόλεις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφόρῳ πνεύματι
 28 ῥυείσῃς τῆς φλογός. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς ἀσυμβάτοις πολέμοις ἡ πρώτη καὶ μέση καὶ τελευταία δύναμις ἐστὶ διὰ πυρός, ἥ πιστεύουσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ναυμάχων τάξεσι καὶ ταῖς ὀπλῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων² ἀφθόνοις παρασκευαῖς· πυρφόρον

¹ MSS. ἅτε.² MSS. ναυμαχῶν.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 24-28

the gentleness and humanity which it owes to nature and practice, it discovered a well-sounding plea to defend the grazier in the irrational and refractory nature of cattle, particularly when they hanker for food. The trespasser must therefore be held re- 25 sponsible to justice for originally driving the herd into a field where they ought not to be, but should not bear the guilt of all its results, for it may well be that when he perceived the harm they were doing he tried to drive them out as fast as he could, but they as they were browsing on the herbage and taking their fill of tender fruits and plants resisted his efforts.

VI. But people do damage not merely by grazing 26 their cattle on the property of others but also by starting a fire without circumspection or foresight.^a For the force of fire when it has caught hold of the inflammable stuff shoots out in every direction and spreads itself abroad, and when it has once got the mastery it takes no account of any extinguishers applied to it and indeed makes full use of them as fuel to foster its growth until it has consumed them all and dies out from self-exhaustion. Now no one 27 should ever leave a fire unguarded either in house or outbuilding as he knows that a single smouldering spark is often fanned into a blaze and sets fire to great cities, particularly when the flame streams along under a carrying wind. Thus in bitterly con- 28 tested wars the chief instrument of efficiency first intermediate and final is fire, and on this combatants rely more than on their squadrons of infantry and cavalry and marines and their lavishly provided equipments of arms and engines. For a conflagra-

^a Ex. xxii. 6.

- γάρ τις οἷστον βαλὼν καιρίως εἰς πολὺν νηῶν
στόλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάταις κατέφλεξεν ἢ στρατόπεδα
πολυάνθρωπα μετὰ τῶν παρασκευῶν, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπ-
29 ἐποίηντο τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδας, ἐξανάλωσεν. εἰ
οὖν εἰς ἀκανθώδη φορυτὸν πῦρ ἐμβάλῃ τις, ὃ δ'
ἀναφλεχθεὶς προσεμπρήσῃ ἄλλω πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν ἢ
ὀρόβων ἢ δράγματα ἀσταχύων συγκεκομισμένα ἢ
βαθύγειον πεδιάδα χλοηφοροῦσαν, ἀποτινύτω τὸ
βλάβος ὃ τὸ πῦρ ἐμβαλὼν, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν μάθῃ
τὰς πρώτας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνστάσεις εὖ μάλα
φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύναμιν ἀήττητον καὶ φύσει
φθοροποιὸν ἀνακινῇ καὶ ἀνεγείρῃ δυναμένην
ἡρεμεῖν.
- 30 VII. Ἱερώτατον παρακαταθήκη τῶν ἐν κοινωνίᾳ
πραγμάτων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ λαβόντος κειμένη
πίστει. δάνεια μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγχεται διὰ συμβολαίων
καὶ γραμμάτων, τὰ δ' ἄνευ δανείων ἐν χρήσει
φανερῶς διδόμενα τοὺς θεασαμένους ἔχει μάρτυρας.
- 31 παρακαταθηκῶν δ' οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος, ἀλλὰ μόνος
τις αὐτὸς δίδωσι μόνῳ κρύφα, περιβλεπόμενος τὸν
τόπον, μηδ' ἀνδράποδον ἕνεκα τοῦ διακομίσαι προσ-
παραλαβὼν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι φιλοδέσποτον· εἰς γὰρ
τὸ ἀναπόδεικτον ἐκάτερος σπεύδειν ἔοικεν, ὃ μὲν
ἵνα λάθῃ δούς, ὃ δὲ ἵνα ἀγνοῇται λαβὼν. ἀοράτῳ
[341] δὲ πράγματι | πάντως ἀόρατος μεσιτεύει θεός, ὃν

^a Ex. xxii. 6, "If fire having gone forth finds thorns." The thorns were set as a hedge round the field (Driver).

^b Editors quote Jos. *Ant.* iv. 285 παρακαταθήκην ὥσπερ ἱερὸν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα (cf. § 33 below) ὃ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦτω. Josephus goes on to emphasize the testimony of God.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 28-31

tion caused by a man shooting a fire-bearing arrow at the right place into a great fleet of ships has been known to consume it with the troops on board or to annihilate armies of considerable strength with the equipments on which they had rested their hopes of victory. Accordingly if a single person sets a heap of thorns^a alight and they burst into a flame which goes on to ignite a threshing floor full of wheat or barley or vetch or stacked sheaves of corn in the ear or rich soiled meadow land where herbage is growing, the person who lighted the fire must pay for the damage and thus learn by experience to guard carefully against the first beginnings of things and to refrain from stirring up and setting in action an invincible and naturally destructive force which might otherwise remain in quiescence. 29

VII. The most sacred of all the dealings between man and man is the deposit on trust,^b as it is founded on the good faith of the person who accepts it. Formal loans are guaranteed by contracts and written documents, and articles lent openly without such formality have the testimony of the eye-witnessess. But that is not the method of deposits. There a man gives something with his own hands secretly to another when both are alone. He looks carefully all round him and does not even bring a slave, however loyal, with him to act as carrier, for the object which both of them evidently pursue is that it should be impossible to show what has happened. The one wishes that nobody should observe his gift, the other that no one should know of his acceptance. And this unseen transaction has assuredly the unseen God as its intermediary, 31

εἰκὸς ὑπ'¹ ἀμφοῖν μάρτυρα καλεῖσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ὡς ἀποδώσοντος ὅταν ἀπαιτῇται, τοῦ δ' ἐν καιρῷ
 32 κομιουμένου. μέγιστον οὖν ἀδίκημα δρῶν ὁ παρα-
 καταθήκην ἀρνούμενος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω, ψεύσας μὲν
 ἐλπίδος τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα, μοχθηρὰ δ' ἦθη κατα-
 σκεπάσας² λόγοις ἐπεικέσιν, ἀπιστίαν δὲ καθυπο-
 κρινάμενος νόθην πίστιν, ἀσυμβάτους ἀποφήνας
 δεξιὰς καὶ ἀτελεῖς ὅρκους· ὡς ἀνθρωπεύων τε καὶ
 θεῶν ὀλιγωρηκέναί καὶ διττὰς ἀρνεῖσθαι παρα-
 καταθήκας, τὴν μὲν τοῦ τὰ οἰκεία ἐπιτρέψαντος,
 τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀψευδεστάτου μάρτυρος, ὃς τὰ πάντων
 ἐφορᾷ καὶ τὰ πάντων ἐπακούει καὶ προαιρουμένων
 33 καὶ μὴ θελόντων. ἐὰν δ' ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ὡς ἱερὸν
 χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην ἄψαυστον οἴηται δεῖν φυλάτ-
 τειν, σέβων ἀλήθειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν
 ἄλλοτρίων ἔφεδροι βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι
 παρεισφθαρέντες ὑφέλονται, συλληφθέντες ἐκτι-
 νέτωσαν ἐπιτίμια διπλᾶ [τὰ κλεπτῶν εὐρεθέντα].³
 34 εἰ δὲ μὴ συλληφθεῖεν οὗτοι, προσίτω⁴ γνώμη
 ἐκουσίῳ ὁ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ θεῖον δικαστήριον καὶ
 ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁμνύτω κατ'

¹ MSS. ἐπ'.

² MSS. κατασκευάσας.

³ These words are expelled as a gloss by Cohn following Mangey. But what did the supposed gloss mean? Mangey himself suggested as an alternative τὰ κατὰ κλεπτῶν ὁρισθέντα (cf. §§ 2 and 11 above), which I should be inclined to adopt.

⁴ MSS. προεῖτω or προίτω.

^a i.e. whether their actions and words are genuine or not. This no doubt gives a rather strained meaning to τῶν μὴ θελόντων. Perhaps as Mangey "cum voluntarie tum involuntarie agentium." But this, though an antithesis constantly recurring in Philo, seems irrelevant here. Heinemann, "whether they wish (to be seen and heard) or not," "mag es

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 31-34

to whom both naturally appeal as their witness, one that he will restore the property when demanded, the other that he will recover it at the proper time. So then he who repudiates a deposit 32 must be assured that he acts most wrongfully. He deceives the hopes of the friend who confided his goods to him. He has disguised under fair words the vileness of his character. In the faithlessness of his heart he has assumed the mask of a bastard faithfulness. The assurance of the hands given and taken is rendered null and void, the oaths are unfulfilled. Thus he has set at nought both the human and the divine and repudiated two trusts, one that of him who consigned his property, the other that of the most veracious of witnesses who sees and hears all whether they intend or do not wish to do what they say.^a But if the deposit, which 33 the receiver accepts as something sacred and feels bound to keep unharmed because of his reverence for truth and good faith, is purloined by stealthy mischievous intruders, cutpurses and burglars on the watch to take what does not belong to them, the offenders if caught must pay a fine of double the value.^b If they are not caught the receiver of 34 the trust must go of his own freewill to the court of God^c and with hands stretched out to heaven

ihnen lieb oder unlieb sein," also seems pointless and besides misses the sense of intention in *προαιρουμένων*.

^b See Ex. xxii. 7.

^c Ex. xxii. 8 "come near unto God," v. 9 "before God." LXX in both places *ἐνώπιον θεοῦ*, a phrase which, whatever it may have meant in the original, is interpreted by Philo as appealing to the judgement of God. The phrase *δικαστήριον θεῶν* frequently appears in Philo; see in this volume *De Virt.* 171, *De Praem.* 69.

PHILO

ἐξωλείας ἑαυτοῦ, μήτε τι μέρος τῆς παρακαταθήκης νοσφίσασθαι μήτε ἑτέρω κοινοπραγῆσαι μήτε ὅλως συνεπιψεύσασθαι κλοπῇν οὐ γενομένην· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἢ τὸν μηδὲν ἡδικηκότα ζημιοῦν ἢ τὸν συνδραμόντα εἰς φίλου πίστιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικηθέντα βλάβης αἷτιον ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι.

- 35 Παρακαταθῆκαι δ' οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀψύχοις εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώοις, ὧν διττὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἄψυχα κοινὸς διὰ κλοπῆς, ὁ δὲ ἴδιος καὶ ἐξαίρετος διὰ θανάτου. λέλεκται μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ προτέρου, χρή δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου προσνομο-
- 36 θετεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν <ἐν> παρακαταθήκῃ θρέμματα τελευτήσῃ, μεταπεμφάσθω τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα ὁ λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω, φαύλης ὑπονοίας ῥυόμενος ἑαυτόν· εἰ δὲ ἔκδημος ὢν τυγχάνοι, καλεῖν μὲν

^a A phrase borrowed from Demosthenes. See examples in lexicon.

^b Ex. xxii. 8. E.V. "to see whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods." LXX "that he has not acted wickedly about the whole (*i.e.* any part, Philo *τι μέρος*) of the deposit." Philo gives a very reasonable expansion of the oath.

^c *i.e.* if he is not allowed to exculpate himself by an oath.

^d The translation is an attempt to retain something of the curious double ἢ. The two things mentioned are not alternatives, but would both result if the depository had to make good the theft.

^e For this section see Ex. xxii. 9-13. Philo's explanation is a simplification of what, particularly in the LXX, is a confusing passage. In v. 9 it is stated that in the case of any loss, animals included, the disputants will appear "before God" and the person convicted will pay compensation. The verse, which may be out of place, does not seem to refer particularly to deposits, but coming where it does, Philo would naturally conclude that it did so refer, and sup-

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 34-36

swear under pain of his own perdition^a that he has not embezzled any part of the deposit nor abetted another in so doing nor joined at all in inventing a theft which never took place.^b Otherwise^c an innocent party would be mulcted and the person who ran to avail himself of the good faith of a friend would on account of the wrong he has suffered from others cause injury to that friend, and either of these is preposterous.^d

But deposits include not only inanimate things³⁵ but living animals who are liable to be endangered in two ways: one by theft which they share with the inanimate, the other by death which is peculiar to themselves. The first of these has been dealt with above and we must proceed to lay down laws for the second. ^e So if any animal left in trust dies³⁶ the person who has accepted the trust must send for the consigner and show him the dead body, thus shielding himself against any suspicion of dishonesty. If the consigner is absent from home, it would not be right for the caretaker to summon

pose that it means that the oath, unless shown to be false, would clear the depositary. Verses 10-12 state that if an animal deposited in trust has been wounded or dies or has been carried away captive, "and no one knows it," the oath will clear him, but adds that if it is stolen, the depositary must make it good. Verse 13 says that if it has been torn by wild beasts, he must take the owner to the fragments of the corpse (*ἀξει ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν*) and so clear himself. Philo ignores the difficulty in v. 12, "if it has been stolen he shall pay compensation," and falls back upon the general principle that the oath is to be trusted. Also from the statement that the fragments of the torn animal are sufficient evidence, he seems to argue that the same must hold good of any dead animal if the owner is accessible, and that therefore the oath in this case is not needed.

PHILO

- ἑτέρους οὐχ ἁρμόττον, οὓς λανθάνειν ἐσπούδασεν
 ἴσως ὁ πιστεύσας, ὁμνῦναι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐπανήκοντι
 περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπισκιάζειν ἐψευσμένῳ θανάτῳ νο-
 37 σφισμὸν ἄδικον. ἂν δὲ λάβῃ τις μὴ ὡς παρα-
 καταθήκην ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ χρήσασθαι δεόμενος
 σκεῦος ἢ ζῶον, ἔπειτα [εἰ τὰ]¹ ἀμφότερα κλαπῇ ἢ
 τὸ ζῶον ἀποθάνῃ, συνδιατρίβοντος μὲν τοῦ χρή-
 σαντος ὁ λαβὼν ὑπόδικος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, τοῦ μὴ
 σκήπτεσθαι μάρτυρι χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ, μὴ συν-
 38 διατρίβοντος δὲ ἀποτινύτω. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐνδέχεται
 μὴ παρόντος τοῦ κυρίου τὸν χρώμενον ἢ πόνοις
 ἀποτρῦσαι συνεχέσι τὸ ζῶον, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι, ἢ
 [342] παρarrῦσαι | τὸ σκεῦος ὀλιγωρήσαντα τοῦ ἁλλο-
 τρίου, ταμιεύειν δέον καὶ μὴ παρέχειν εὐμάρειαν
 εἰς ὑφαίρεσιν κλέπταις.
 39 Ἀκολουθίαν δ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος δεινὸς ὢν θεάσα-
 σθαι πραγμάτων ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐπαλλήλους ἐξῆς
 νομοθετεῖ, στοχαζόμενος εἰρμοῦ καὶ συνῶδὰ τοῖς
 προτέροις τὰ ἐπόμενα συνυφαίνων. τὴν δὲ τῶν
 λέγεσθαι μελλόντων ἁρμονίαν χρησμῶ θεσπισθῆναι

¹ The ungrammatical εἰ τὰ with the subjunctive, which Cohn brackets, would easily slip in after ἔπειτα. Mangey retaining it has κλαπεῖν and ἀποθάνει without ms. authority. Wendland suggested ἢ τὰ with fair probability. Stephanus states that ἀμφότερα preceded by the article is only found in N.T. and later writers. But see ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις, § 129.

^a For this section see Ex. xxii. 14, 15. LXX "If anyone ask from his neighbour and it is wounded (or broken) or die or is carried away captive, and the owner is not with it, he shall make compensation. But if the owner is with it, he shall not make compensation." Philo interprets the request (or borrowing) to apply to other things besides animals, and

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 36-39

other people from whom the depositor may have wished to keep the matter secret, but when he has come home he must swear to him to show that he is not using a fictitious death to cloak an embezzlement. ^a But if any utensil or any animal has ³⁷ been received not as a trust but for his use in response to a request and then either ^b of these is stolen, or the animal dies, the borrower will not be responsible if the lender is living on the spot, since he can call him to witness that there is no pretence. If he is not living on the spot the borrower must make good the loss. Why is this? ³⁸ Because in the absence of the owner the borrower may either have worn out the animal by constantly overworking it and so have caused its death, or may have risked ^c the loss of the utensil out of carelessness for what is another man's property, whereas he is bound to keep it carefully and not provide thieves with facilities for carrying it off.

The lawgiver with his unsurpassed power of discerning how things follow each other gives a series of successive prohibitions in which he aims at logical connexion, and makes a harmonious combination of the subsequent with the preceding. He tells us that this accordance between each thing said and

"carried away captive" (*αἰχμάλωτον γένηται*) to include stealing, and "be with it," which presumably means that he is present when the mishap occurs, to mean as above, "be accessible." The last half of the verse, which is very obscure, he leaves alone.

^b Lit. "both," meaning that both are liable to be stolen, but not to die.

^c Heinemann "thrown aside." Mangey "temere proiecisse." The meaning given above, which is a quite common use of *παρὰρρίπτω*, seems to me more suitable to the context.

φῃσιν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·
 “οὐ κλέψετε καὶ οὐ ψεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ συκοφαντή-
 σετε τοὺς πλησίον ὑμῶν· καὶ οὐκ ὀμείσθε τῷ
 ὀνόματί μου ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα οὐ
 βεβηλώσετε”· παγκάλως καὶ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς·
 40 ὃ τε γὰρ κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλεγχόμενος
 ἀρνείται καὶ ψεύδεται, δεδιὼς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμολογῆ-
 σαι τιμωρίας, ὃ τε ἀρνούμενος ἐτέρῳ σπουδάζων
 προσβάλλειν τὸ ἔγκλημα συκοφαντεῖ καὶ τέχνας
 ἐπινοεῖ, δι’ ὧν εὐλογον εἶναι δόξει τὸ συκοφάντημα,
 πᾶς τε συκοφάντης εὐθύς ἐστιν ἐπίορκος, ὀλίγα
 φροντίζων εὐσεβείας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ¹ ἐλέγχων ἀπορεῖ
 δικαίων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄτεχνον λεγομένην πίστιν κατα-
 φεύγει, τὴν δι’ ὀρκων, οἰόμενος κατακλήσει θεοῦ
 πίστιν ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ἀνίερος δ’ ὁ τοι-
 οὔτος ὢν καὶ βέβηλος ἴστω, μιαίνων τὸ ἀμίαντον
 φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ² θεῖον ὄνομα.

Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις³

- 41 VIII. "Ἐνατον μὲν ἐστὶ τουτὶ τῶν δέκα κεφα-
 λαίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ στήλῃ τὸ τέταρτον
 ἀριθμῶ, μυρία δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὀνήσαι δυνά-

¹ MSS. ἐπειδήπερ.

² Cohn rejects ἀγαθὸν καὶ, on the grounds that ἀγαθὸν is an unsuitable epithet, and Mangey's proposal of ἅγιον or ἀγαστὸν because of the hiatus after φύσει. See App. p. 428.

³ This heading stands on quite a different footing from the rest, as the allusion to it in τουτὶ below shows it to be indispensable. Possibly it should be printed in line with ἔνατον rather than as a heading.

^a Or simply as Heinemann and Mangey, "what is about to be said," or "has to be said." The translation given above is based on a feeling that as τῶν μελλόντων so taken

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 39-41

each thing still to be said ^a is proclaimed in an oracle spoken by God in his own person in the following terms "Ye shall not steal and ye shall not lie and ye shall not bring false accusations against your neighbours and ye shall not swear in my name to an injustice and ye shall not profane my name."^b Excellent indeed and full of instructions, for the 40 thief convicted by his conscience disowns the deed and lies through fear of the punishment which confession entails. Then he who disowns his deed in his eagerness to fasten the charge on someone else brings a false accusation and devises schemes to make the accusation seem probable. And every such accuser is necessarily a perjurer with little regard for piety, for since he lacks just arguments he takes refuge in the unscientific ^c method of proof, as it is called, namely that of oaths, because he thinks that by appeal to God he makes his hearers believe him. Such a one may be assured that he is unholy and profane, since he pollutes the good name which is by nature unpolluted, the name of God.

VIII. "Thou shalt not bear false witness." This 41 is the ninth of the ten heads but the fourth in number of those on the second table. Numberless are the blessings which it can bring to human life if kept,

is somewhat pointless, Philo may be carrying on the thought of the previous sentence that each clause is the precursor of the next and leads up to it as its natural consequence. See App. p. 427.

^b Lev. xix. 11, 12.

^c Or inartistic, inartificial. See note on *De Plant.* 173, and reference to Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 15. 2. The five inartistic proofs are laws, witnesses, contracts and documents, torture, oaths. See further App. p. 428.

μενον, εἰ φυλάττοιτο, ὡς καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀμελού-
 42 μενον βλάψαι. ψεκτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ δὲ
 τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρῶν μᾶλλον ὑπαίτιος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 αὐτῷ βοηθῶν, ὁ δ' ἄλλω συμπράττων πονηρός
 ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ συγκρίσει κακῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ δι' αὐτὸν
 43 ἁμαρτάνων τοῦ δι' ἕτερον ἦττον ἄδικος. καὶ τὸν
 μὲν κατήγορον ὑποβλέπεται πᾶς δικαστὴς ὡς ὀλίγα
 φροντίζοντα τῆς ἀληθείας ἔνεκα τοῦ περιγενέσθαι,
 διὸ καὶ προοιμίων ἐδέχσεν εἰς προσοχὴν ἀκροατοῦ
 τῷ λέγοντι· τοῦ δὲ μαρτυροῦντος μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 προπεπονθὼς ὑπουλον ἐλευθέρᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀνα-
 πεπταμένοις ὡσὶν ἀνέχεται, πίστιν καὶ ἀλήθειαν
 ὑποδουμένου, [τὸ] πραγμάτων μὲν ὠφελιμωτάτων τὰ
 ὀνόματα, ὀνομάτων δὲ προσαγωγότατα,¹ <οἷς> καθ-
 ἀπερ δελέασιν ἐπὶ θήρᾳ χρήται ὧν ὀρέγεται καὶ
 44 ποθεῖ. διὸ πολλαχοῦ παραινεί τῆς νο-
 μοθεσίας ἀδίκῃ μηδενὶ συναινεῖν, μήτε ἀνθρώπῳ
 μήτε πράγματι· προκαλεῖται γὰρ ἡ συναίνεσις ἐφ'
 ὑγιεῖ μὴ γενομένη τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 [343] πᾶς, | ὅτῳ πρόσαντες καὶ ἐχθρόν τὸ ἄδικον, ἀλη-
 45 θείᾳ φίλος. ἐνὶ μὲν οὖν μοχθηρῷ μὴ συναπονοη-
 θῆναι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια προκαλουμένῳ,
 πλήθει δὲ ἐπὶ παρανομίαν² οἷα κατὰ πρανοῦς ἀθρόα
 ῥύμῃ φερομένῳ μὴ συνενεχθῆναι γενναίας ψυχῆς

¹ MSS. προσαγωγότατος.

² MSS. παρανομία (= -α).

^a As this only applies to consenting to injustice many examples no doubt could be found, e.g. Ex. xxiii. 7 "thou shalt keep away from every unjust word," Lev. xix. 15, Deut. xvi. 19, 20. The further thought that consenting to an injustice involves supporting what we know to be false and therefore is a breach of the ninth commandment has its source in Ex. xxiii. 1, 2, where "thou shalt not join with the

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 41-45

numberless on the other hand the injuries which it causes if disregarded ; for reprehensible as is the 42 false accuser his guilt is less than that of the bearer of false witness. The former acts as his own champion, the latter as the accomplice of another, and if we compare one bad man with another the iniquity of one who sins for his own sake is less than his who sins for the sake of another. The 43 judge looks with disfavour on the accuser as a person who cares little for truth in his eagerness to win his case, and this is the reason why introductory addresses are required to secure the attention of the hearer to the speaker. But the judge starts with no lurking feelings of hostility to the witness and therefore he listens with a free judgement and open ears, while the other assumes the mask of good faith and truth, names indeed of the most valuable realities, but the most seductive of names when used as baits to capture something which is earnestly desired.

And therefore in 44 many places ^a of the Law Book he exhorts us not to consent to an unjust man or unjust action, for consent, if not rendered on honest grounds, is an inducement to testify to falsehoods, just as everyone to whom injustice gives a feeling of pain and hostility is a friend of truth. Now when a single 45 man of bad character invites us to do as he does there is nothing remarkable in a refusal to share his wicked folly, but when a multitude is carried away in a rushing mass as down a steep slope to lawlessness, it needs a noble soul and a spirit trained

unjust to be an unjust witness," is followed at once by "thou shalt not be with a multitude for evil." This last is evidently the text expounded in the next sentence.

PHILO

ἔστι καὶ φρονήματος ἀνδρεία συγκεκροτημένου.
 46 ἔνιοι γὰρ τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα, κἂν παρα-
 νομώτατα ᾗ, νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια εἶναι νομίζουσι,
 κρίναντες οὐκ εὖ· φύσει γὰρ ἔπεςθαι καλόν, ἀκο-
 47 λουθία φύσεως δ' ἀντίπαλον ὄχλου φορά. ἔαν οὖν
 κατὰ θιάσους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὁμίλους ἀγειρό-
 μενοὶ τινες νεωτερίζωσι, τούτοις οὐ συναινέτέον ὥς
 τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ δόκιμον τῆς πολιτείας νόμισμα
 παρακόπτουσι·

σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας
 νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία μείζον κακόν.

48 Ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη τινὲς ὑπερβολῇ χρῶνται μοχθηρίας,
 ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀγένητα κατηγοροῦσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντες τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ διαίρουσι καὶ τεί-
 νουσι τὸ ψεῦδος ἄχρι οὐρανοῦ, τῆς μακαρίας καὶ
 εὐδαίμονος θεοῦ φύσεως καταμαρτυροῦντες· εἰσὶ δ'
 οὗτοι τερατοσκόποι καὶ οἰωνοσκόποι καὶ θύται καὶ
 ὅσοι ἄλλοι μαντικὴν ἐκπονοῦσι τὴν σὺν τέχνη
 κακοτεχνίαν, εἰ δεῖ τᾶλθθῆς εἰπεῖν, ἐπιτηδεύοντες,
 παράκομμα τῆς ἐνθέου κατοκωχῆς καὶ προφητείας.
 49 προφήτης μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται τὸ
 παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνεὺς ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου
 πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρεται, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνθουσιᾷ
 γεγωνῶς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, μετανισταμένου μὲν τοῦ λο-
 γισμοῦ καὶ παρακεχωρηκότος τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνωκηκότος
 τοῦ θείου πνεύματος καὶ πᾶσαν τῆς φωνῆς ὄργανο-

^a Lines from a fragment of Euripides quoted by many

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 45-49

to manliness to keep from being carried with them. Some people suppose that what the many think 46 right is lawful and just, though it be the height of lawlessness. But they do not judge well, for it is good to follow nature, and the headlong course of the multitude runs counter to what nature's leading would have us do. So if some people collect in 47 groups or crowded assemblages to give trouble, we must not consent to their debasing of the long established and sterling coinage of civic life.

Better than many hands is one wise thought,
A multitude of fools makes folly worse.^a

But some show such an excess of wickedness that 48 they not only lay to the charge of men things which have never occurred but persisting in their wickedness exalt and extend the falsehood to heaven and bear testimony against the blessed and ever happy nature of God.^b These are the interpreters of portents and auguries and of sacrificial entrails, and all the other proficient in divination who practise an art which is in reality a corruption of art, a counterfeit of the divine and prophetic possession. For no pronouncement of a prophet is ever his 49 own; he is an interpreter prompted by Another in all his utterances, when knowing not what he does he is filled with inspiration, as the reason withdraws and surrenders the citadel of the soul to a new visitor and tenant, the Divine Spirit which

writers and stated to come from the tragedy *Antiope*. See Nauck, *Fr. of Eur.* 220.

^b This condemnation of divination as a breach of the ninth commandment because it constitutes false witness against God is very strained. In the parallel passage, i. 59-63, it has been connected with the first.

ποιίαν κρούοντός τε¹ καὶ ἐνηχοῦντος εἰς ἐναργή
 50 δῆλωσιν ὧν προθεσπίζει. τῶν δὲ τὴν παράσημον
 καὶ βωμολόχον μαντικὴν ζηλούντων ἕκαστος ταῖς
 εἰκασίαις καὶ στοχασμοῖς ἀνοίκειον τάξιν παρα-
 τίθῃσι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοὺς ἀβεβαίους τὸ
 ἦθος ὑπαγόμενος ῥαδίως καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστα
 σκάφη πολὺς ἀντιπνεύσας² ἀνωθεὶ καὶ ἀνατρέπει,
 διακωλύων ὑποδρόμοις ἀσφαλέσι προσσχεῖν εὐσε-
 βείας· τὰ γὰρ τοπασθέντα προλέγειν οἶεται δεῖν ὥς
 οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐρών, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀφανῶς αὐτῷ μόνῳ
 χρησθέντα θεία λόγια, πρὸς βεβαιότεραν πίστιν
 51 ἀπάτης μεγάλων καὶ πολυανθρώπων ὁμίλων. τὸν
 τοιοῦτον εὐθυβόλῳ ὀνόματι ψευδοπροφήτην προσ-
 [344] αγορεύει, κιβδηλεύοντα τὴν | ἀληθῆ προφητείαν
 καὶ τὰ γνήσια νόθοις εὐρήμασιν ἐπισκιάζοντα.
 χρόνῳ δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγῳ διακαλύπτεται τὰ
 τοιαῦτα στρατηγήματα, τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ἀεὶ κρύ-
 πτεσθαι φιλούσης, ἀλλ' ὁπότεν καιρὸς ἦ τὸ ἴδιον
 52 κάλλος ἀναφαινούσης ἀηττήτοις δυνάμεσιν. ὥς
 γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἐκλείψειςιν αἱ ἀκτῖνες πρὸς
 βραχύτατον ἀμαυρωθεῖσαι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναλάμ-
 πουσιν ἄσκιον καὶ τηλαυγὲς ἐπιδεικνύμεναι φέγ-

¹ Perhaps omit τε, and so Mangey, but without ms. authority. See note a.

² Cohn following Mangey inserts ἀνεμος after ἀντιπνεύσας. It seems to me unnecessary. The metaphorical application of wind-terms by the simple verb is common in Philo. See Index s.v. πνέω, e.g. λαμπρὸν πνέουσι *De Cong.* 159.

^a Or "makes sounds on," "raises sounds from" it, i.e. the vocal organism. This must be the sense if τε is retained, though to understand the dative from the preceding accusative seems awkward. Mangey translates "formante," and I presume Heinemann means much the same by "bringt

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 49-52

plays upon the vocal organism and dictates words ^a which clearly express its prophetic message. Now ⁵⁰ everyone who pursues the spurious scurvy trade of divination ranks his surmises and conjectures with truth, a position ill-suited to them, and easily gets the unstable of character into his power; then with a mighty counterblast as it were he pushes about and upsets their unballasted barks and prevents them from coming to port in the sure roadsteads of piety. For he thinks he must proclaim the results of his guessing to be not his own discovery but divine oracles, secretly vouchsafed to him alone, and thus confirm the great multitudes which gather ⁵¹ around him in their acceptance of the fraud. Such a person receives from the lawgiver the appropriate name of false prophet,^b for he adulterates the true prophecy and with his spurious inventions throws the genuine into the shade. But in quite a short time such manoeuvres are exposed, for it is not nature's way to be concealed for ever but when the right time comes she uses her invincible powers to unveil the beauty which is hers alone. For as ⁵² in eclipses of the sun the rays are dimmed for a very short time but soon shine again spreading a light unshadowed and far-reaching, when the sun is

den ganzen Stimmapparat zum Schallen und Tönen," but I do not see how the word can mean this. For Philo's regular use of *ἐνηχεῖν* to express reiteration and insistence in speech see note on *De Mut.* 57 (vol. v. p. 588). For the sense of this sentence cf. i. 65, *Quis Rerum* 266. Heinemann compares Plato, *Ion* 534. See App. p. 429.

^b The word *ψευδοπροφήτης* is not used of diviners in the Pentateuch nor indeed used at all. It is however found elsewhere in the LXX, and is associated with divination, Jer. xxxiv. (E.V. xxvii.) 9, xxxvi. (E.V. xxix.) 8.

γος, μηδενὸς ἐπιπροσθούντος ἡλίω τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν αἰθρία καθαρᾷ ὀλοστόν ἀναφαίνοντι,¹ οὕτως καὶ χρησμολογῶσί τινες μαντικὴν μὲν ἐπειψευσμένην τεχνάζοντες, ὑποδύμενοι δ' εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα τὸ προφητείας, ἐνθουσιάζεις καταψευδόμενοι θεοῦ, διελεγχθήσονται ῥαδίως· ἥξει γὰρ πάλιν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀναλάμψει φῶς ἀστράπτουσα τηλαυγέστατον, ὡς τό γε ἐπισκιάσαν ψεῦδος ἀφανισθῆναι.

- 53 Πάγκαλον μέντοι καὶ κείνο προσδιετάξατο κελεύσας ἐνὸς μαρτυρίαν μὴ προσίεσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐνδέχεται ἓνα καὶ παριδεῖν τι καὶ παρακοῦσαι καὶ παρενθυμηθῆναι καὶ ἀπατηθῆναι, δόξαι γὰρ αἱ ψευδεῖς μυρίαι καὶ ἀπὸ μυρίων εἰώθασι προσπίπτειν· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ πλείονων ἢ καὶ καθ' ἐνὸς 54 ἀδικώτατον (ἐνὶ) χρῆσθαι μάρτυρι, τῶν² μὲν ὅτι δὴ πρὸς πίστιν ἀξιονικότεροι ἐνός, τοῦ δ' ἐπειδὴ κατ' ἀριθμὸν οὐ προφέρει, τὸ δ' ἴσον πλεονεξίας ἀλλότριον· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τῷ μάρτυρι καθ' ἑτέρου διεξιόντι ἢ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντι συναινετέον; ἄριστον δ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐπέχειν, ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐνδεί μὴδὲ ὑπερβάλλει.

¹ Cohn brackets the words ἀλλ' ὡς . . . ἀναφαίνοντι, but his arguments (see *Hermes*, 1908, p. 208) do not seem to me very conclusive. They are (1) the words cannot be explained grammatically, for it is not clear to what ἀναφαίνοντι refers. (It surely agrees with ἡλίω, and the construction, though very awkward, is not ungrammatical.) (2) ὀλοστός is only known from a gloss of Hesychius. (Mangey's proposal of ὀλως αὐτόν or αὐτόν (?) might overcome this.) (3) The hiatus καθαρᾷ ὀλοστόν is intolerable. (On this see note in App. to § 40.) My own further difficulty is that I do not see the meaning of ὡς. But altogether the clause, though certainly

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 52-54

not obscured at all by any intervening object but displays its whole surface in clear open sky, just so though some oracle-mongers may ply their false art of divination, masked under the specious name of prophecy, and palm off their ecstatic utterances upon the Godhead, they will easily be detected. Truth will come back and shine again, illuminating the far distance with its radiance, and the lie which overshadowed it will vanish away.

He added another excellent injunction when he 53 forbade them to accept the evidence of a single person,^a first because the single person may see or hear imperfectly or misunderstand and be deceived, since false opinions are numberless and numberless too the sources from which they spring to attack us. Secondly because it is most unjust to accept a single 54 witness against more than one or even against one : against more than one, because their number makes them more worthy of credence than the one : against one, because the witness has not got preponderance of number, and equality is incompatible with predominance. For why should the statement of a witness made in accusation of another be accepted in preference to the words of the accused spoken in his own defence? Where there is neither deficiency nor excess it is clearly best to suspend judgement.^b

^a Num. xxxv. 30, Deut. xvii. 6 (of death sentences), Deut. xix. 15 (of all offences).

^b Heinemann "where no one is behind or has an advantage," but the neuter *μηδέν* points rather to a general maxim. See App. p. 430.

open to suspicion, does not seem to me impossible. On *δλοστός* see further App. p. 430.

² MSS. *τὸν* or *τὸ*.

- 55 IX. ¹Οἷεται δεῖν ὁ νόμος ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς συμ-
 φερομένους τῇ κατὰ Μωυσέα ἱερᾷ πολιτεία παντὸς
 ἀλόγου πάθους καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀμετόχους εἶναι
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις νόμοις χρωμένους, δια-
 φερόντως δὲ τοὺς λαχόντας ἢ χειροτονηθέντας
 δικάζειν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνόχους εἶναι
 [345] | τοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν ἀξιούντας,
 οἷς ἀναγκαῖον καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπο-
 56 μάττεσθαι τὰ φύσεως ἔργα πρὸς μίμησιν. ὥς
 γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις ἀλεαίνουσα ὧν ἂν προσ-
 ἄψηται θερμὴ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτῇ καθέστηκεν ἐξ
 αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦναντίον ἢ τῆς χιόνος τῷ κατ-
 εψύχθαι καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιψύχει, οὕτως ὀφείλει καὶ
 δικαστῆς ἀνάπλεως εἶναι δικαιοσύνης ἀκραίφνοῦς,
 εἴ γε μέλλει τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ἐπάρδειν,
 ἵν' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς γλυκείας φέρηται νᾶμα πό-
 57 τιμον τοῖς διψῶσιν εὐνομίας. τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται,
 εἴαν τις δικάζειν εἰσιῶν ἐν ταύτῳ νομίσει κρίνειν
 τε καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνῃ ἅμα τῇ ψήφῳ
 σύνεσιν μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπατᾶσθαι, δικαιοσύνην δὲ
 εἰς τὴν τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστοις
 ἀπονομήν, ἀνδρείαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀνένδοτον πρὸς ἱκε-
 σίας καὶ οἴκτους κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἐάλωκότων τιμω-
 58 ρίας. ὁ τούτων ἐπιμελούμενος τῶν ἀρετῶν κοινὸς
 εὐεργέτης εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο, κυβερνήτου τρόπον

¹ Here the mss. have a heading *Τὰ πρὸς δικαστὴν*, and Cohn begins a new numeration of chapters. But though these sections, 41-78, might perhaps have come more appropriately in the latter half of the book on *δικαιοσύνη*, Philo clearly regards them as belonging to the ninth commandment (§ 78).

^a Heinemann objects that no judges were chosen by lot in Israel, cf. § 157, but Philo of course means that however they

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 54-58

IX. The law holds that all who conform to the 55 sacred constitution laid down by Moses must be exempt from every unreasoning passion and every vice in a higher degree than those who are governed by other laws, and that this particularly applies to those who are appointed to act as judges by lot^a or election. For it is against all reason that those who claim to dispense justice to others should themselves have offences to answer for. On the contrary it is necessary that they should bear the impress of the operations of nature, as from an original design, and thus imitate them.^b Consider 56 the power exerted by fire and snow. Fire warms all it touches but its heat primarily resides in itself, snow its opposite through its own coldness chills other things. So too the judge must be permeated by pure justice if he is to foster with the water of justice those who will come before him, and thus as from a sweet fountain there may issue a stream fit to refresh the lips of those who thirst for true and lawful dealings. And this will come to pass if 57 a man when he enters upon his duties as judge considers that when he tries a case he is himself on his trial, and with his voting tablet^c takes also good sense to make him proof against deceit, justice to assign to each according to his deserts, courage to remain unmoved by supplication and lamentation over the punishments of the convicted. He who 58 studies to possess these virtues will properly be considered a public benefactor. Like a good pilot were elected the law would demand a higher standard from them than from the Gentile.

^b So rather than as Goodenough, "to be imitated by others."

^c Lit. "pebble."

ἀγαθοῦ τοὺς χειμῶνας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξευδιάζων
 ἕνεκα σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας τῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπι-
 τετροφότων αὐτῷ.

- 59 X. Κελεύει δὴ πρῶτον ὁ νόμος τῷ δικαστῇ μὴ
 παραδέχεσθαι ἀκοὴν ματαίαν. τί δέ τοῦτ' ἐστίν;
 ἔστω, φησὶν, ὦ οὗτος, τὰ ὧτά σου κεκαθαρμένα·
 καθαρθήσεται δέ, ἐὰν νάμασι σπουδαίων λόγων
 συνεχῶς ἐπαντλήται, τὰς ματαίους καὶ πεπατη-
 μένας καὶ χλεύης ἀξίας μυθογράφων ἢ μιμολόγων
 ἢ τυφοπλαστών τὰ μηδενὸς ἀξία σεμνοποιούντων
 60 μακρὰς ῥήσεις μὴ προσιέμενα. δηλοῦνται δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 μὴ παραδέχεσθαι ματαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ ἕτερόν τι τῷ
 προτέρῳ συνᾶδον· τοῖς ἀκοὴν μαρτυροῦσι, φησὶν, ὁ
 προσέχων ματαίως καὶ οὐχ ὑγιῶς προσέξει· διὰ τί;
 ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς γινο-
 μένοις, ἐφαπτόμενοι τρόπον τινὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ ὅλα δι' ὅλων καταλαμβάνοντες, φωτὸς συν-
 εργοῦντος, ὧ πάντα αὐγάζεται τε καὶ διελέγχεται,
 ὧτα δ', ὡς ἔφη τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν προτέρων,
 ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα, πράγμασι μὲν οὐκ ἐντυγ-
 χάνοντα, ἐρμηνεῦσι δὲ πραγμάτων λόγοις οὐκ αἰεὶ
 61 πεφυκόσιν ἀληθεύειν περιελκόμενα. διὸ καὶ τῶν
 παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἔνιοι νομοθετῶν μεταγράψαντες ἐκ
 τῶν ἱερωτάτων Μωυσέως στηλῶν εὖ διατάξασθαι

^a Or "tranquillizing," which is the natural meaning of the word, but a pilot does not do this.

^b Ex. xxiii. 1. E.V. "Thou shalt not take up a false report." LXX as quoted here.

^c Goodenough supposes that these expositions or harangues refer to the sophistry of advocates, cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 121, but this is not borne out by the sequel, mythmakers, etc. Philo seems to have slipped into a general denunciation of "idle hearings," and particularly of the *μυθικὰ πλάσματα* against

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 58-61

he steers a prosperous voyage^a through the storms of business to secure the preservation and security of those who have entrusted their interests to him.

X. The first instruction that the law gives to the 59 judge is that he should not accept idle hearing.^b What is this? "Let your ears, my friend," he says, "be purged" and purged they will be if streams of worthy thoughts and words are constantly poured into them and if they refuse to admit the long-winded expositions,^c the idle hackneyed^d absurdities of the makers of myths and farces and of vain inventions with their glorification of the worthless. And the phrase "not accept idle hear- 60 ing" has another signification consistent with that just mentioned. If men listen to hearsay given as evidence their listening will be idle and unsound. Why so? Because the eyes are conversant with the actual events; they are in a sense in contact with the facts and grasp them in their completeness through the co-operation of the light which reveals and tests everything. But ears, as one of the ancients has aptly said, are less trustworthy than eyes^e; they are not conversant with facts, but are distracted by words which interpret the facts but are not necessarily always veracious. And therefore it 61 seems that some Grecian legislators did well when they copied from the most sacred tables of Moses

which he so often inveighs, *e.g.* *De Virt.* 102. Cf. the longer digression in §§ 68, 69.

^d Goodenough "worthy of rejection," and so Mangey "proculcatas," but the usage for "much trodden," "trite," is well established.

^e Quoted almost verbatim from Herodotus i. 8. Polybius xii. 27. 1 ascribes it in a slightly different form (*ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὤτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες*) to Heracleitus.

δοκοῦσι, μὴ μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοήν,¹ ὥς δέον, ἃ μὲν εἶδὲ
 62 τις, πιστὰ κρίνειν, ἃ δὲ ἤκουσε, μὴ πάντως βέβαια.

[346] XI. | Δεύτερον παράγγελμα κριτῇ δῶρα μὴ
 λαμβάνειν· τὰ γὰρ δῶρα, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, πηροὶ μὲν
 ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέποντας, τὰ δὲ δίκαια λυμαίνεται, τὴν
 δὲ διάνοιαν οὐκ ἔῃ διὰ λεωφόρου βαίνειν ἐπ' εὐ-
 63 θείας. καὶ τὸ μὲν δωροδοκεῖν ἐπ' ἀδίκους παμπονή-
 ρων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δικαίοις ἐφ'
 ἡμισεῖα πονηρευομένων· εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐπάρυφοί τινες
 ἡμιμόχθηροι, δικαιοάδικοι, τὴν ὑπὲρ² τῶν πεπλημ-
 μελημένων τεταγμένοι τάξιν κατὰ τῶν πλημμελη-
 σάντων, προῖκα δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες νικῶντας γράφειν
 οὓς νικᾶν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώσιν ὦνιον καὶ
 64 ἔμμισθον ἀποφαίνοντες. εἴτα ἐπειδὴν τις αἰτιᾶται,
 φασὶ μὴ παρατρέψαι τὸ δίκαιον—ἡττηθῆναι μὲν
 γὰρ οὓς ἀρμόττον ἦν ἡττᾶσθαι, νενικηκέναι δ' οὓς
 ἐχρῆν περιγίνεσθαι—, κακῶς ἀπολογούμενοι· δύο γὰρ
 δεῖ προσφέρεισθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστήν, νομικω-
 τάτην γνώσιν καὶ τὸ ἀδέκαστον· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ δώροις
 βραβεύτης τοῦ δικαίου καλὸν φύσει πρᾶγμα λέ-
 65 ληθεν αἰσχύνων. ἐπεξαρμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ δύο ἕτερα,
 τὸ μὲν ἐθίζων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι φιλοχρήματον, ὅπερ
 ὀρμητήριον τῶν μεγίστων παρανομημάτων ἐστί, τὸ

¹ MSS. ἀκοη (= ἀκοῇ). See note a.

² MSS. περὶ (or παρὰ).

^a A clear reference to Attic law. See note on *De Conf.* 141 (vol. iv. pp. 556, 557), where reference is given to the *Dict. of Ant.* article "Akoēn Marturein," and passages in the orators.

^b Ex. xxiii. 8. The end "perverteth the words of the righteous" (lxx "just words") suggests that ῥήματα may have fallen out.

^c From Plato, *Rep.* 352 c.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 61-65

the enactment that hearing is not accepted as evidence,^a meaning that what a man has seen is to be judged trustworthy, but what he has heard is not entirely reliable.

XI. The second instruction to the judge is not to ⁶² take gifts, for gifts, says the law, blind the eyes ^b which see and corrupt the things that are just, while they prevent the mind from pursuing its course straight along the high road. And while receiving ⁶³ bribes to do injustice is the act of the utterly depraved, to receive them to do justice shows a half depravity. For there are some magistrates half way in wickedness,^c mixtures of justice and injustice, who having been appointed to the duty of supporting the wronged against the wrongdoers think themselves justified in refusing without a consideration to record a victory to the necessarily victorious party and so make their verdict a thing purchased and paid for.^d Then when they are attacked they ⁶⁴ plead that they did not pervert justice, since those who ought to lose did lose and those who deserved to win were successful. This is a bad defence, for two things are demanded from the good judge, a verdict absolutely according to law and a refusal to be bribed. But the awarder^e of justice who has taken gifts for it has unconsciously disfigured what nature has made beautiful. Apart from this ⁶⁵ he offends in two other ways; he is habituating himself to be covetous of money, and that vice is the source from which the greatest iniquities spring,

^a See App. p. 430.

^e Or "umpire." For the phrase *βραβευτής τοῦ δικαίου* Heinemann quotes Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 15. 24 *τοῦ δικαίου βραβευ- τῆς ὁ δικαστής*. See App. p. 431.

- δὲ βλάπτων ὃν ἄξιον ἦν ὠφελεῖν τιμὴν τοῦ δικαίου
 66 κατατιθέντα. διὸ σφόδρα παιδευτικῶς Μωυσῆς
 δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον προστάττει μεταδιώκειν, αἰ-
 νιττόμενος ὅτι καὶ ἀδίκως ἔνεστι, διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ
 δώροις τοῦ δικαίου βραβευτάς, οὐ μόνον ἐν δικα-
 στηρίοις, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν
 καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τοῖς τοῦ βίου
 67 πράγμασιν. ἤδη γοῦν ὀλιγοχρήματόν τις παρα-
 καταθήκην λαβὼν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ μᾶλλον
 τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ ὠφελείᾳ, ἵνα τὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις
 πίστιν δέλεαρ καθεῖς ἀγκιστρεύσῃται τὴν ἐν μεί-
 ζοσιν πίστιν,¹ ὅπερ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ δίκαιον μὴ
 δικαίως ἐπιτελεῖν· δίκαιον μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἁλλο-
 τρίων ἀπόδοσις, οὐ δικαίως δ' ἐγένετο, παρόσον ἐπὶ
 68 θήρᾳ πλειόνων. αἷτιον δὲ τῶν τοιούτων
 ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἢ πρὸς τὸ
 ψεῦδος οἰκείωσις, ὅπερ ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως καὶ
 σπαργάνων αὐτῶν τίθεται καὶ μητέρες καὶ ὁ ἄλλος
 τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ἐλευθέρων ὄμιλος
 ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις ἀεὶ σύντροφον κατασκευάζουσιν,
 ἄρμοζόμενοι καὶ ἐνοῦντες αὐτὸ τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς μέρος
 ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπερ, εἰ καὶ τῷ ὄντι φύσει
 συνεγεγέννητο, ὥφειλεν ἐπιτηδεύσει τῶν καλῶν ἐκ-
 69 τετμηθῆναι. τί δ' οὕτως ἐν βίῳ καλὸν ὡς ἀλήθεια;
 ἦν ὁ πάνσοφος ἐστηλίτευσεν ἐν ἱερωτάτῳ χωρίῳ,

¹ So Mangey, quoting *De Plant.* 101 μηδὲ τὴν ἐν ὀλίγοις
 πίστιν φύλασσε ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῆς ἐν πλείοσι πίστεως. MSS. ἀπιστίαν
 (or ἀδικίαν).

^a Deut. xvi. 20. E.V. "that which is altogether just shalt
 thou follow." Cf. *De Cher.* 15, where it is quoted with the

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 65-69

and he is injuring one who deserves to be benefited when that person has to pay a price for justice. And therefore Moses gives us a very instructive 66 command, when he bids us pursue justice justly,^a implying that it is possible to do so unjustly. He refers to those who give a just award for lucre, not only in law courts but everywhere on land and sea and one may almost say in all the affairs of life. Thus we have heard of a person 67 accepting a deposit of little value and repaying it with a view to ensnare rather than to benefit the person to whom he gives it.^b His object was by baiting his hook with trustworthiness in small matters to secure trustfulness in greater things, and this is nothing else than executing justice unjustly, for while repayment of what is due to others is a just deed, it was not done justly being done in pursuit of further gains.

Now the principal cause 68 of such misdeeds is familiarity with falsehood which grows up with the children right from their birth and from the cradle, the work of nurses and mothers and the rest of the company, slaves and free, who belong to the household. By word and deed they are perpetually welding and uniting falsehood to the soul as though it were a necessary part inherent in its nature, though if nature had really made it congenital it ought to have been eradicated by habituation to things excellent. And what has life 69 to show so excellent as truth, which the man of perfect wisdom set as a monument on the robe of

same application as here, and *Quod. Det.* 18, where it is cited as forbidding mistaken asceticism and ritual.

^b For this confidence trick see *De Plant.* 103, *De Cher.* 14 also in connexion with *Deut. l.c.*, and perhaps *De Dec.* 172.

[347] κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολήν, | ἔνθα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικόν, ἀναθημάτων τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ διαπρεπεστάτῳ βουλευθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐπικοσμήσαι, συγγενῇ δὲ δυνάμιν ἀληθείᾳ παριδρύσατο, ἣν ἐκάλεσε δήλωσιν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγων εἰκόνας, ἐνδιαθέτου τε καὶ προφορικοῦ· δεῖται γὰρ ὁ μὲν προφορικὸς δηλώσεως, ἥ τὰ ἀφανῆ τῶν¹ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνθύμια γνωρίζεται τῷ πέλας, ὁ δ' ἐνδιάθετος ἀληθείας, εἰς τελειότητα βίου καὶ πράξεων δι' ὧν² ἡ ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίαν ὁδὸς ἀνευρίσκεται.

- 70 XII. Τρίτον παράγγελμα τῷ δικαστῇ τὰ πράγματα πρὸ τῶν κρινομένων ἐξετάζειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι πάντα τρόπον ἀφέλκειν αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν δικαζομένων φαντασίας, εἰς ἄγνοιαν καὶ λήθην βιαζόμενον ὧν ἐπιστήμην εἶχε καὶ μνήμην, οἰκείων, φίλων, πολιτῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐχθρῶν, ξένων, ἵνα μήτε εὖνοια μήτε μῖσος ἐπισκιάσῃ τῶν δικαίων τὴν γνῶσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ οἶα τυφλὸν δίχα βάκτρον προερχόμενον καὶ τοὺς ποδηγετήσοντας οὐκ ἔχοντα οἷς
71 βεβαίως ἐπερείσεται πταίειν. ὅθεν προσήκει τὸν ἀγαθὸν δικαστὴν τοὺς μὲν κρινομένους, οὔτινες ἂν ὦσι, παρακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ὁρᾶν, μὴ πρὸς δόξας ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μέλλοντα κρίνειν καὶ τοιαύτην

¹ Perhaps omit τῶν. See note a.

² Heinemann wishes to read δι' ἧς on the ground that τελειότης not πράξεις leads to happiness. But as translated the text seems to present no difficulty.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 69-71

the high priest in the most sacred place where the dominant part of the soul resides, when he wished to deck him with a sacred ornament of special beauty and magnificence? And beside truth he set a kindred quality which he called "clear showing," the two representing both aspects of the reason we possess, the inward and the outward. For the outward requires clear showing by which the invisible thoughts in each of us^a are made known to our neighbours. The inward requires truth to bring to perfection the conduct of life and the actions by which the way to happiness is discovered.

XII. A third instruction to the judge is that he⁷⁰ should scrutinize the facts rather than the litigants and should try in every way to withdraw himself from the contemplation of those whom he is trying.^b He must force himself to ignore and forget those whom he has known and remembered, relations, friends and fellow citizens and on the other hand strangers, enemies, foreigners so that neither kind feeling nor hatred may becloud his decision of what is just. Otherwise he must stumble like a blind man proceeding without a staff or others to guide his feet on whom he can lean with security; and⁷¹ therefore the good judge must draw a veil over the disputants, whoever they are, and keep in view the nature of the facts in their naked simplicity. He must come with the intention of judging according to truth and not according to the opinions of well as above, is retained, the meaning will be "such of our thoughts as are invisible." But surely all thoughts are invisible till expressed.

^b Deut. i. 17 (xvi. 19) "Thou shalt not respect persons in judgement." LXX οὐκ ἐπιγνώσῃ πρόσωπον ("recognize a face"), a form which Philo is clearly expounding in the sequel.

- ἐννοίαν λαβόντα, ὅτι “ ἡ μὲν κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν,” ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς ἐπίτροπος τῆς κρίσεως· ἐπιτρόπῳ δ’ οὐκ ἐφείται τὰ τοῦ κυρίου χαρίζεσθαι, παρακαταθήκην εἰληφότι τὴν πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀρίστην παρὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου.
- 72 XIII. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἤδη καὶ ἄλλο σοφὸν εἰσηγεῖται· κελεύει <γὰρ> πένητα ἐν κρίσει μὴ ἐλεεῖν ὁ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τι τὴν νομοθεσίαν πεπληρωκὺς τῶν εἰς ἔλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν διαταγμάτων καὶ μεγάλας μὲν ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατεινόμενος ὑπερόπταις καὶ ἀλαζόσι, μεγάλα δὲ προθεῖς ἄθλα τοῖς τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν πέλας εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὰς περιουσίας οὐκ ἴδια κτήματα
- 73 νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐνδείαις. ὁ γὰρ ἔφη τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν πρότερον, ἀληθὲς ἐστίν, ὅτι παραπλήσιον οὐδὲν ἄνθρωποι θεῷ δρῶσιν ἢ χαριζόμενοι. τί δ’ ἂν εἴη κρεῖττον ἀγαθὸν ἢ μί-
- 74 μείσθαι θεὸν γενητοῖς τὸν αἰδίδιον; μῆτ’ οὖν ὁ πλούσιος ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν οἴκοι συναγαγὼν ἀφθονον θησαυροφυλακείτω, προφερέτω δ’ εἰς μέσον, ἵνα τὸ σκληροδίατον τῶν ἀπόρων ἱλαραῖς μεταδόσεσι λιπαίνῃ, μῆτ’, εἴ τις ἐνδοξος, ὑψηλὸν αἶρων αὐτὸν αὐχεῖτω φρυαττόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἰσότητα τιμήσας
- [348] μεταδιδότω παρρησίας τοῖς ἀδόξοις· | ὁ τε ῥώμῃ κεκρημένος σώματος ἔρεισμα τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων ἔστω καὶ μὴ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι καταπαγκρατιαζέτω τοὺς ἐλάττους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν,

^a Deut. i. 17.

^b Ex. xxiii. 3. E.V. “Neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause.” LXX as quoted here. Philo is evidently struck by the absence of the corresponding injunction not to favour the rich either, which is given in Lev. xix. 15.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 71-74

men, and with the thought before him that "judgement is God's"^a and the judge is the steward of judgement. As a steward he is not permitted to give away his master's goods, for the best of all things in human life is the trust he has received from the hands of One who is Himself the best of all.

XIII. He adds to those already mentioned another ⁷² wise precept, not to show pity to the poor man in giving judgement.^b And this comes from one who has filled practically his whole legislation with injunctions to show pity and kindness, who issues severe threats against the haughty and arrogant and offers great rewards to those who feel it a duty to redress the misfortunes of their neighbours and to look upon abundant wealth not as their personal possession but as something to be shared by those who are in need. For what one of the men of old ^c ⁷³ aptly said is true, that in no other action does man so much resemble God as in showing kindness, and what greater good can there be than that they should imitate God, they the created Him the eternal? So then let not the rich man collect great ⁷⁴ store of gold and silver and hoard it at his house, but bring it out for general use that he may soften the hard lot of the needy with the unction of his cheerfully given liberality. If he has high position, let him not show himself uplifted with boastful and insolent airs, but honour equality and allow a frank exchange of speech to those of low estate. If he possesses bodily vigour, let him be the support of the weaker and not as men do in athletic contest take every means of battering down the less powerful,

^c See App. p. 431.

ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμείσθω τῆς ἰδίας ἰσχύος μεταδιδόναι
 75 τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἀπειρηκόσιν. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ
 πηγῶν ἠρύσαντο τῶν σοφίας, φθόνον ὑπερόριον τῆς
 διανοίας ἐληλακότες ἄνευ προτροπῆς αὐτοκέλευστοι
 ταῖς τῶν πλησίον ὠφελείαις ἐπαποδύονται, τὰ λό-
 γων νάματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκείνων δι' ὧτων ἐπ-
 αντλοῦντες εἰς μετουσίαν τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιστήμης· καὶ
 ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ὥσπερ εὐβλαστα καὶ εὐγενῇ μοσχεύ-
 ματα νέους εὐφνεῖς, γεγῆθασιν οἰόμενοι κληρονό-
 μους ἀνευρηκέναι τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πλούτου, ὃς μόνος
 ἀληθείᾳ πλουτός ἐστι, καὶ παραλαβόντες γεωργοῦσι
 τὰς ψυχὰς δόγμασι καὶ θεωρήμασι, μέχρῃς ἂν
 στελεχωθεῖσαι καρπὸν τὸν καλοκαγαθίας ἐνέγκωσι.

76 τοιαῦτα τοῖς νόμοις ἀγάλματα συνύφαν-
 ται καὶ πεποίκιλται πρὸς εὐπορίαν ἀπόρων, οὓς
 ἐπὶ μόνῃς κρίσεως ἐλεεῖν οὐ θεμιτόν· ἔλεος γὰρ ἐπ'
 ἀτυχήμασιν, ὃ δ' ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ πονηρευόμενος
 77 οὐκ ἀτυχής, ἀλλ' ἄδικος. τιμωρίαι δ' ἐπ' ἀδίκους
 ὥς ἐπὶ δικαίοις τιμαὶ βεβαιούσθωσαν· ὥστε μηδεὶς
 μοχθηρὸς ἄπορος ὑπείλλων καὶ ὑποστέλλων ἀχρη-
 ματίας οἴκτω τὸ δίκην δοῦναι παρακρονέσθω,
 δεδρακὼς οὐκ ἐλέου—πόθεν;—ἀλλ' ὀργῆς ἄξια. καὶ
 ὁ δικάζειν εἰσιὼν καθάπερ ἀργυραμοιβὸς ἀγαθὸς
 διαιρεῖτω καὶ διακρινέτω τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων, ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχεόμενα τοῖς παρασῆ-
 78 μοις τὰ δόκιμα. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πρὸς τε
 ψευδομάρτυρας καὶ δικαστὰς ἔνεστι λέγειν· ὑπὲρ δὲ
 τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν ἰτέον ἐπὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν

^a For the application of ἀγάλματα to beautiful thoughts and qualities cf. *De Sob.* 38 (and possibly 3) and § 238 of this treatise, also θεοῦ μνημὴν ἀγαλματοφορεῖν *De Virt.* 165.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 74-78

but make it his ambition to share the advantage of his strength with those who have none of their own left to brace them. All who have drawn water 75 from wisdom's wells banish a grudging spirit from the confines of the mind and needing no bidding save their own spontaneous instinct gird themselves up to benefit their neighbours and pour into their souls through the channel of their ears the word-stream which may make them partakers of their own knowledge. And when they see young people gifted by nature like fine thriving plants, they rejoice to think that they have found some to inherit the spiritual wealth which is the only true wealth. They take them in hand and till their souls with the husbandry of principles and doctrines until on their full grown stems they bear the fruit of noble living.

Such gems^a of varied beauty are inter- 76 woven in the laws, bidding us give wealth to the poor, and it is only on the judgement seat that we are forbidden to show them compassion. Compassion is for misfortunes, and he who acts wickedly of his own free will is not unfortunate but unjust. Let punishment be meted to the unjust as surely as 77 honours to the just. And therefore let no cowering, cringing rogue of a poor man evade his punishment by exciting pity for his penniless condition. His actions do not deserve compassion, far from it, but anger. And therefore one who undertakes to act as judge must be a good money changer, sifting with discrimination the nature of each of the facts before him, so that genuine and spurious may not be jumbled together in confusion. There is much 78 else which might be said about false witnesses and judges, but to avoid prolixity we must proceed to

δέκα λογίων, ὃ κεφαλαιώδει τύπῳ καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον κεχρησμένῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν·
 “οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.”

- 79 XIV. ¹Πᾶν μὲν πάθος ἐπίληπτον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἄμετρος καὶ πλεονάζουσα ὁρμὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κίνησις ὑπαίτιος· ἐκότερον γὰρ τούτων <τί> ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἢ παλαιὸν πάθος ἐξηπλωμένον; εἴ τις οὖν μὴ μέτρα ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ὀρίζει μηδὲ χαλινὸν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀφηνιασταῖς ἵπποις ἐντίθῃσι, πάθει χρῆται δυσιάτῳ, κᾶπειτα λήσεται διὰ τὸν ἀφηνιασμόν ἐξενεχθεὶς οἷα ὑπὸ ἀρμάτων ἡνίοχος εἰς φάραγγας ἢ βάραθρα δυσαναπόρευτα,
- 80 ἐξ ὧν μόλις ἔστι σῶζεσθαι. τῶν δὲ παθῶν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀργαλέον ὥς ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἀπόντων ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀγαθῶν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὄντων, χαλεποὺς
- [349] καὶ ἀνηνύτους | ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσα· ἐπιτείνει γὰρ καὶ ἐπελαύνει μέχρι πορρωτάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον,² φεύγοντος ἔστιν ὅτε τοῦ διωκομένου κατα-
- 81 φρονητικῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ νῶτα ἀλλ' ἀντικρὺ. ὅταν γὰρ ἐπιτρέχουσιν αἰσθηταὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡρεμήσαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δελεάσαι καὶ ἐλπίδα συλλήψεως τῆς [καθ'] αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν, ἐξαναχωρεῖ μακροτέροις διαστήμασι κατακερτομοῦν· ἢ δὲ ἀπολειπομένη καὶ ὑστερίζουσα σφαδάζει Ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρονσα κακοδαίμονι ψυχῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον λόγος ἔχει ποτὸν μὲν ἀρύσασθαι βουλόμενον ἀδυνατεῖν, ὑποφεύγοντος ὕδατος, εἰ δὲ

¹ The title Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις is not required, having been expressed above. Cohn here begins a fresh numeration of chapters.

² MSS. ἀπορον.

^a For Philo's conception of ἐπιθυμία see note to *De Dec.* 142, and General Introduction to this Volume, p. x.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 78-81

the last of the ten Great Words. This, which like each of the rest was delivered in the form of a summary, is "Thou shalt not covet."^a

XIV. Every passion is blameworthy. This follows 79 from the censure due to every "inordinate and excessive impulse" and to "irrational and unnatural movements" of the soul,^b for both these are nothing else than the opening out of a long-standing passion. So if a man does not set bounds to his impulses and bridle them like horses which defy the reins he is the victim of a wellnigh fatal passion, and that defiance will cause him to be carried away before he knows it like a driver borne by his team into ravines or impassable abysses whence it is hardly possible to escape. But none of the passions is so 80 troublesome as covetousness or desire of what we have not, things which seem good, though they are not truly good. Such desire breeds fierce and endless yearnings; it urges and drives the soul ever so far into the boundless distance while the object of the chase often flies insolently before it, with its face not its back turned to the pursuer.^c For when it 81 perceives the desire eagerly racing after it it stands still for a while to entice it and provide a hope of its capture, then it is off and away, mocking and railing as the interval between them grows longer and longer. Meanwhile the desire outdistanced and losing ground is in sore distress and inflicts on the wretched soul the punishment of Tantalus,^d who, as the story goes, when he would get him something to drink could not because the water slipped away,

^b Both these phrases are Stoic definitions of *πάθος*. See *S.V.F.* index s.v. *πάθος*.

^c Cf. *De Dec.* 146.

^d Cf. *De Dec.* 149.

καρπὸν ἐθελήσκει δρέψασθαι, πάντας ἀφανίζεσθαι,
 82 στεριουμένης τῆς περὶ τὰ δένδρα εὐφορίας. ὥς γὰρ
 αἱ ἀμείλικτοι καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητοι δέσποναι τοῦ σώ-
 ματος, δίψα <καὶ> πείνα, κατατείνουσιν αὐτὸ μᾶλ-
 λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἐκ βασανιστοῦ τροχιζομένων
 ἄχρι θανάτου πολλάκις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐξηγριω-
 μένας τιθασεύσει ποτοῖς καὶ σιτίοις, οὕτως ἡ ἐπι-
 θυμία κενὴν ἀποδείξασα τὴν ψυχὴν λήθη μὲν τῶν
 παρόντων, μνήμη δὲ τῶν μακρὰν ἀφεστηκότων
 οἴστρον καὶ μανίαν ἀκάθεκτον ἐγκατασκευάσασα,
 βαρυτέρας μὲν τῶν πρότερον δεσποινῶν ὁμωνύμους
 δ' ἐκείναις ἀπειργάσατο, δίψαν τε καὶ πείναν, οὐ
 τῶν περὶ γαστρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων,
 δόξης, ἡγεμονιῶν, εὐμορφίας, ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ὅσα
 κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ζηλωτὰ καὶ περιμάχητα
 83 εἶναι δοκεῖ. καὶ καθάπερ ἡ λεγομένη παρὰ τοῖς
 ἰατροῖς ἐρπηνώδης νόσος οὐκ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἵσταται
 χωρίου, κινεῖται δὲ καὶ περιθεῖ καί, ὥς αὐτό που
 δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, διέρπει πάντῃ σκιδναμένη καὶ χρο-
 μένη, πᾶσαν τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν τοῦ σώματος
 μερῶν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄκρας ἄχρι ποδῶν συλλαμβά-
 νουσα καὶ συναίρουσα,¹ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ
 ἐπιθυμία δι' ὅλης ἄττουσα τῆς ψυχῆς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ
 τὸ βραχύτατον ἀπαθὲς αὐτῆς ἐᾷ, μιμουμένη τὴν ἐν
 ἀφθόνῳ ὕλῃ πυρὸς δύναμιν· ἐξάπτει γὰρ καὶ ἀνα-
 φλέγει, μέχρις ἂν διαφαγοῦσα πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐξ-
 84 αναλώσῃ. XV. τοσοῦτον ἄρα καὶ οὕτως κακὸν
 ὑπερβάλλον ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ δεῖ

¹ So Mangey for mss. συνείρουσα, which would mean

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 81-84

and when he wished to pluck fruit it all vanished and the rich produce of the trees was turned into barrenness. For just as those unmerciful and 82 relentless mistresses of the body, hunger and thirst, rack it with pains as great as, or greater than, those of the sufferers on the tormentor's wheel, and often bring it to the point of death unless their savagery is assuaged by food and drink, so it is with the soul. Desire makes it empty through oblivion of what is present, and then through memory of what is far away it produces fierce and uncontrollable madness, and thus creates mistresses harsher than those just mentioned though bearing the same name, hunger and thirst, in this case, not for what gives gratification to the belly, but for money, reputation, government, beautiful women^a and all the innumerable objects which are held in human life to be enviable and worthy of a struggle. And 83 just as the creeping sickness, as physicians call it, does not stand still in one place but moves about and courses round and round and justifies its name by creeping about, spreading in all directions, and gripping and seizing all parts of the body's system from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet, so does desire dart through the whole soul and leave not the smallest bit of it uninjured.^b In this it imitates the force of fire working on an abundance of fuel which it kindles into a blaze and devours until it has utterly consumed it. XV. So great then 84 and transcendent an evil is desire, or rather it may be

^a εὐμορφία, beauty in others, not in oneself, as § 89 shows.

^b Cf. *De Dec.* 150.

“stringing together”—a sense which does not suit this description of the “creeping sickness.”

- τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων πηγὴ τῶν κακῶν· σὺλα γὰρ καὶ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ χρεωκοπίαὶ συκοφανταίαι τε καὶ αἰκίαὶ καὶ προσέτι φθοραὶ καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ ἀνδροφονίαι καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἰδιωτικὰ ἢ δημόσια ἢ
- 85 ἱερὰ ἢ βέβηλα ἀδικήματα πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐρρύνῃ; τὸ γὰρ ἀψευδῶς ἂν λεχθὲν ἀρχέκακον πάθος ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία, ἧς ἐν τῷ βραχύτατον ἔγγονον, ἔρως, οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλ' ἤδη πολλάκις ἀμυθῆτων κατέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην συμφορῶν, ἃς οὐδ' ὁ σύμπαρ τῆς γῆς
- [350] κύκλος ἐχώρησεν, | ἀλλὰ διὰ πλῆθος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ χειμάρρου φορᾶς εἰς θάλατταν εἰσέπεσον, καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα πελάγη πολεμίων κατεπλήσθη νηῶν καὶ ὅσα καινουργοῦσιν οἱ ναυτικοὶ πόλεμοι συνηνέχθη καὶ ἐπιπεσόντα ἀθρόα πάλιν εἰς νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ὑπεσύρη, διαυλοδρομήσαντα καθάπερ ἐν
- 86 ταῖς παλιρροίαις ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι. τρανοτέραν δὲ τοῦ πάθους ἐνάργειαν¹ ληψόμεθα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ὅσων ἂν ἐπιθυμία προσάφηται, μεταβολὴν ἀπεργάζεται τὴν πρὸς τὸ χειρόν, οἶα τὰ ἰοβόλα ζῶα καὶ τὰ θανάσιμα τῶν φαρμάκων.
- 87 τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω; εἰ πρὸς χρήματα γένοιτο, κλέπτας ἀποτελεῖ καὶ βαλαντιοτόμους καὶ λωποδύτας καὶ τοιχωρύχους χρεωκοπίαῖς τε καὶ παρακαταθηκῶν ἀρνήσεσι καὶ δωροδοκίαις καὶ ἱεροσυλίας καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις ἅπασιν ἐνόχους.
- 88 εἰ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλαζόνας, ὑπερόπτας, ἀβεβαίους καὶ ἀνιδρύτους τὸ ἥθος, φωναῖς τὰ

¹ MSS. ἐνέργειαν.

^a See App. p. 431.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 84-88

truly said, the fountain of all evils. For plunderings and robberies and repudiations of debts and false accusations and outrages, also seductions, adulteries, murders and all wrongful actions, whether private or public, whether in things sacred or things profane, from what other source do they flow? For the passion to which the name of originator of evil can truly be given is desire, of which one and that the smallest fruit the passion of love ^a has not only once but often in the past filled the whole world with countless calamities, which, too numerous to be contained by the whole compass of the land, have consequently poured into the sea as though driven by a torrent, and everywhere the wide waters have been filled with hostile ships and all the fresh terrors created by maritime war have come into being, then fallen with all their mass on islands and continents, swept along backwards and forwards from their original home as in the ebb and flow of the tides.^b But we shall gain a clearer insight into the passion in the following way. Desire, like venomous animals or deadly poisons, produces a change for the worse in all which it attacks. What do I mean by this? If the desire is directed to money it makes men thieves and cut-purses, footpads, burglars, guilty of defaulting to their creditors, repudiating deposits, receiving bribes, robbing temples and of all similar actions. If its aim is reputation they become arrogant, haughty, inconstant and unstable in temperament, their ears blockaded

^b Philo is no doubt thinking primarily of Helen and the Trojan war, and also, one may well believe, of the wars caused by Antony's passion for Cleopatra. But he writes with much the same exaggeration as in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 16.

PHILO

- ὧτα πεφρακότας, ταπεινουμένους ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἐπαιρομένους διὰ τὰς τῶν πληθῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἐπαινούντων καὶ ψεγόντων ἀκρίτῳ φορᾷ, πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν ἀνεξετάστους, ὡς ῥαδίως ἐκάτερον ἀνθυπαλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα τούτοις ἀδελφὰ καὶ
- 89 συγγενῇ. πρὸς δὲ ἀρχὴν εἰ γένοιτο ἐπιθυμία, στασιώδεις, ἀνίσους, τυραννικούς τὰς φύσεις, ὠμοθύμους, ἐχθροὺς τῶν πατρίδων, ἀσθνεστεροῖς¹ δεσπότης ἀμειλίκτους, τὴν ἰσχὺν ἴσοις ἀσυμβάτους πολεμίους, δυνατωτέρων κόλακας εἰς τὴν δι' ἀπάτης ἐπίθεσιν. εἰ δὲ πρὸς σώματος κάλλος, φθορεῖς, μοιχοὺς, παιδεραστάς, ἀκολασίας καὶ λαγνείας ζηλωτάς, μεγίστων κακῶν ὡς εὐδαι-
- 90 μονικωτάτων ἀγαθῶν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ γλῶτταν φθάσασα μυρία ἐνεωτέρισεν· ἔνιοι γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἢ τὰ λεκτέα σιωπᾶν ἢ τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγειν, καὶ ἀναφθεγγομένοις² ἔπεται τιμωρὸς δίκη
- 91 καὶ ἐχεμυθοῦσι [καὶ] τοῦναντίον. ἀψαμένη δὲ τῶν περὶ γαστέρα παρέχεται γαστριμάργους, ἀκορέστους, ἀσώτους, ὕγρου καὶ διαρρέοντος³ ζηλωτὰς βίου, χαίροντας οἰνοφλυγίαις, ὀψοφαγίαις, ἀκράτου καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ἐδεσμάτων [καὶ] κακοὺς δούλους, περὶ συμπόσια καὶ τραπέζας ἰλυσπωμένους λίχνων

¹ MSS. ἀσθνεστεροῦς.

² MSS. ἀναφαινομένοις.

³ MSS. ὕγρους διαρρέοντας.

^a Heinemann translates "die ihr Ohr (leerem) Gerede leihen." πεφρακότες can come either from φράσσω or φράζω, but neither verb, so far as I know, can bear any sense which combined with οὗς would mean "to lend an ear." The same

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 88-91

by the voices they hear,^a deaf to all else, at once humbled to the ground and uplifted on high by the inconsistencies of the multitude who deal out praise and blame in an indiscriminate stream. They form friendships and enmities recklessly so that they easily change each for the other, and show every other quality of the same family and kinship as these.

If the desire is directed 89 to office, they are factious, inequitable, tyrannical in nature, cruel-hearted, foes of their country, merciless masters to those who are weaker, irreconcilable enemies of their equals in strength and flatterers of their superiors in power as a preparation for their treacherous attack.

If the object is bodily beauty they are seducers, adulterers, pederasts, cultivators of incontinence and lewdness, as though these worst of evils were the best of blessings.

We have known desire to 90 make its way to the tongue and cause an infinity of troubles, for some desire to keep unspoken what should be told or to tell what should be left unsaid, and avenging justice attends on utterance in the one case and silence in the opposite.

And when it takes hold of the region of the belly, it 91 produces gourmands, insatiable, debauched, eagerly pursuing a loose and dissolute life, delighting in wine bibbing and gluttonous feeding, base slaves to strong drink and fish and dainty cates, sneaking

may be said of Mangey's "ex aurium iudicio pendeant." I understand it to mean that the idle talk they listen to serves as a fence to exclude other advice. Philo has several times used ἐμπάρρειν ὦτα for blocking or closing the ears from hearing something, *e.g.* *De Mig.* 191. An easier sense would perhaps be given by "close their ears to voices," but the dative can hardly mean this.

- τρόπον κυνιδίων, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ ἐπάρατον
 συμβαίνει ζωὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι, παντὸς ἀργαλεω-
 92 τέραν θανάτου. ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας
 οἱ μὴ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροις γευσάμενοι φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐστιαθέντες,
 διερευνησάμενοι φύσιν ψυχῆς καὶ τριττὸν¹ εἶδος
 ἐνιδόντες αὐτῇ,² τὸ μὲν λόγου, τὸ δὲ θυμοῦ, τὸ δ'
 ἐπιθυμίας, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τὴν ἄκραν ἀπ-
 [351] ἐνειμαν οἰκειότατον ἐνδιαίτημα κεφαλὴν, ἔνθα καὶ |
 τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἱ τοῦ νοῦ³ καθάπερ βασιλέως
 93 δορυφόροι τάξεις παρίδρυνται, θυμῷ δὲ τὰ στέρνα,
 τῇ μὲν ἵνα στρατιώτου τρόπον θώρακα ἀμπεχό-
 μενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπαθῆς ἐν πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοι
 δυσάλωτος ᾗ, τῇ δ' ἵνα καὶ πλησίον τοῦ νοῦ⁴
 παρωκισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ γείτονος ὠφελῇται, κατ-
 ἐπάδοντος αὐτὸν φρονήσει καὶ πραῦπαθῇ κατα-
 σκευάζοντος, ἐπιθυμία δὲ τὸν περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καὶ
 94 τὸ καλούμενον διάφραγμα χώρον· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν
 ἥκιστα μετέχουσιν λογισμοῦ πορρωτάτω τῶν βα-
 σιλείων αὐτοῦ διωκίσθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐσχατιαῖς,
 καὶ πάντων ἀπληστότατον καὶ ἀκολαστότατον
 οὖσαν θρεμμάτων ἐμβόσκεισθαι τόποις,⁵ ἐν οἷς
 τροφαί τε καὶ ὀχεῖαι.
- 95 XVI. Πρὸς ἃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα ἀπιδὼν ὁ ἱερώ-
 τας Μωυσῆς ἐκδύσασθαι τὸ πάθος καὶ μυσά-
 ξάμενος ὡς αἰσχιστον καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων αἴτιον

¹ MSS. τρίτον.² MSS. αὐτῆς.³ MSS. αἰ τοῦ νόμου.⁴ MSS. νόμου.⁵ MSS. τροποῖς (sic).

^a The Platonic division of the soul into λόγος, θυμός and ἐπιθυμία and their location respectively in the head, chest,
 64

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 91-95

like greedy little dogs round banqueting halls and tables, all this finally resulting in an unhappy and accursed life which is more painful than any death.

It was this which led those who had 92
taken no mere sip of philosophy but had feasted abundantly on its sound doctrines to the theory which they laid down. They had made researches into the nature of the soul and observed that its components were threefold, reason, high spirit and desire.^a To reason as sovereign they assigned for its citadel the head as its most suitable residence, where also are set the stations of the senses like bodyguards to their king, the mind. To the spirited 93
part they gave the chest, partly that soldier-like clad with a breast-plate it would if not altogether scatheless be scarcely vanquished finally; partly that lying close to the mind it should be helped by its neighbour who would use good sense to charm it into gentleness. But to desire they gave the space round the navel and what is called the diaphragm. For it was right that desire so lacking 94
in reasoning power should be lodged as far as might be from reason's royal seat, almost at the outermost boundary, and that being above all others an animal ^b insatiable and incontinent it should be pastured in the region where food-taking and copulation dwell.

XVI. All these it seems the most holy Moses 95
observed and therefore discarded passion in general and detesting it, as most vile in itself and in its

and round the navel or diaphragm (*Timaeus* 69 E f., and elsewhere) has been frequently mentioned by Philo, e.g. *Leg. All.* i. 70-73, iii. 115.

^b An allusion to Plato, *Timaeus* 70 E, where desire is called "a wild beast" (θρέμμα ἄγριον), whose manger (φάρτη) is the belly. See *Spec. Leg.* i. 148 and note.

- ἀπεῖπεν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὥς τινα τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἐλέποιν, ἥς ἀναιρεθείσης ἢ πειθαρχούσης
 κυβερνήτῃ λογισμῷ πάντα διὰ πάντων εἰρήνης,
 εὐνομίας, ἀγαθῶν τελείων, ἀναπεπλήσεται πρὸς
 96 εὐδαίμονος βίου παντέλειαν. φιλοσύντομος δ' ὢν
 καὶ εἰωθὼς ἐπιτέμνειν τὰ ἀπερίγραφα τῷ πλήθει
 παραδειγματικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μίαν τὴν περὶ γαστέρα
 πραγματευομένην ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρχεται νουθετεῖν τε
 καὶ παιδεύειν, ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οὐκέθ'
 ὁμοίως ἀφηγιάσειν, ἀλλὰ σταλήσεσθαι τῷ τὴν
 πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὡς ἡγεμονίδα μεμαθηκέναι τοῖς
 97 σωφροσύνης νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν. τίς οὖν ἡ
 διδασκαλία τῆς ἀρχῆς; συνεκτικώτατα δύο ἐστίν,
 ἔδωδὴ καὶ πόσις. ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν,
 ἀλλ' ἐπεστόμισε διατάγμασι καὶ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν
 καὶ πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ—τὸ μέγιστον—πρὸς
 98 εὐσέβειαν ἀγωγοτάτοις. ἀπάρχεσθαι γὰρ ἀπὸ τε
 σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων κελεύει καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς διανέμειν εἰς τε
 θυσίας καὶ τοὺς ἱερωμένους, τὰς μὲν ἔνεκα εὐ-
 χαριστίας τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ὑπὲρ εὐγονίας καὶ εὐφορίας
 ἀπάντων, τοὺς δ' ἔνεκα τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιοστείας,
 μισθὸν ληψομένους τῶν περὶ τὰς ἱεουργίας
 99 ὑπηρεσιῶν. ἐφίεται δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὶ γεύ-
 σασθαί τινος ἢ μεταλαβεῖν, πρὶν διακρῖναι τὰς

^a Heinemann takes ἀρχή to mean the first of the desires. I understand it as carrying on ἀρχεται of the section before. Moses wishes to restrain ἐπιθυμία as a whole, but begins with "the appetite of the belly." He now proceeds to describe the teaching given in this beginning (ἀρχεται however may simply = "proceed").

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 95-99

effects, denounced especially desire as a battery of destruction to the soul, which must be done away with or brought into obedience to the governance of reason, and then all things will be permeated through and through with peace and good order, those perfect forms of the good which bring the full perfection of happy living. And being a lover 96 of conciseness and wont to abridge subjects of unlimited number by using an example as a lesson he takes one form of desire, that one whose field of activity is the belly, and admonishes and disciplines it as the first step, holding that the other forms will cease to run riot as before and will be restrained by having learnt that their senior and as it were the leader of their company is obedient to the laws of temperance.

What then 97 is the lesson which he takes as his first step? ^a Two things stand out in importance, food and drink; to neither of these did he give full liberty but bridled them with ordinances most conducive to self-restraint and humanity and what is chief of all, piety. For he bids them to take samples of their 98 corn, wine,^b oil and live-stock and the rest as first fruits, and apportion them for sacrifices and for gifts to the officiating priests: for sacrifices, to give thanks for the fertility of their flocks and fields; to the priests, in recognition of the ministry of the temple that they may receive a reward for their services in the holy rites.^c No one is per- 99 mitted in any way to taste or take any part of his fruits until he has set apart the first fruits, a rule

^b This is the only way in which restraint in drinking is enjoined throughout these sections.

^c See Deut. xviii. 4 and elsewhere. Cf. i. 132 ff.

ἀπαρχάς, ἅμα καὶ πρὸς ἄσκησιν τῆς βιωφειλεστάτης ἐγκρατείας· ὁ γὰρ ταῖς περιουσίαις, αἷς ἤνεγκαν αἱ τοῦ ἔτους ὥραι, μαθὼν μὴ ἐντρέχειν,¹ ἀλλ' ἀναμένων, ἄχρισ ἂν αἱ ἀπαρχαὶ καθοσιωθῶσι, τὸν ἀφηνιασμὸν τῶν ὀρμῶν ἔοικεν ἀναχαιτίζειν ἐξευμαρίζων τὸ πάθος.

- 100 XVII. | Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μετουσίαν
[352] ἐφῆκε καὶ χρήσιν ἀδεᾶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἱερᾶς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῶν χερσαίων ἢ ἐνύδρων ἢ πτηνῶν ἐστὶν εὐσαρκότατα καὶ πιότατα, γαργαλίζοντα καὶ ἐρεθίζοντα τὴν ἐπίβουλον ἡδονήν, πάντα ἂνὰ κράτος ἀπεῖπεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων δελεάσαντα γεῦσιν ἀπληστίαν ἐργάσεται, δυσίατον κακὸν ψυχαῖς τε καὶ σώμασιν· ἀπληστία γὰρ τικτεῖ δυσπεψίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων ἀρχή τε καὶ
101 πηγὴ. χερσαίων μὲν οὖν τὸ συνὼν γένος ἡδιστον ἀνωμολόγηται παρὰ τοῖς χρωμένοις, ἐνύδρων δὲ τὰ γένη τῶν ἀλεπιδῶν. . . .² πρὸς γὰρ ἐγκράτειαν, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἱκανὸς ὢν ἀλεῖψαι τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἄσκησιν ἀρετῆς δι' ὀλιγοδείας καὶ εὐκολίας γυμνάζει καὶ συγκροτεῖ, πειρώμενος
102 ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν· οὔτε σκληραγωγίαν, ὥς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος νομοθέτης, ἀποδεξάμενος οὔτε τὸ

¹ MSS. συντρέχειν.

² For the supposed lacuna see note b.

^a In this and the following sections the prohibition of certain kinds of beasts, fishes, and birds is based on the supposition that they are the most appetizing and to abstain from them encourages self-control. It will be seen that from § 106 onwards a totally different line of argument is adopted, viz. that philosophical and moral lessons are intended by the distinctions.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 99-102

which also serves to give practice in the self-restraint which is most profitable to life. For he who has learnt not to rush to seize the abundant gifts which the seasons of the year have brought, but waits till the first fruits have been consecrated, clearly allays passion and thus curbs the restiveness of the appetites.

XVII. At the same time he also denied to the 100 members of the sacred Commonwealth unrestricted liberty to use and partake of the other kinds of food. All the animals of land, sea or air whose flesh is the finest and fattest, thus titillating and exciting the malignant foe pleasure, he sternly forbade them to eat, knowing that they set a trap for the most slavish of the senses, the taste, and produce gluttony, an evil very dangerous both to soul and body. For gluttony begets indigestion which is the source and origin of all distempers and infirmities.^a Now among the different kinds 101 of land animals there is none whose flesh is so delicious as the pig's, as all who eat it agree, and among the aquatic animals the same may be said of such species as are scaleless.^b . . . Having special gifts for inciting to self-control those who have a natural tendency to virtue, he trains and drills them by frugality and simple contentedness and endeavours to get rid of extravagance. He approved neither of rigorous austerity like 102 the Spartan legislator, nor of dainty living, like

^b Cohn supposes that some words have fallen out as "these therefore Moses forbade to be eaten." It would certainly explain the γάρ that follows, which otherwise must refer back to § 100. Otherwise it does not seem very conclusive. If there is a lacuna, it may perhaps have begun with καὶ ἀπτερύγων ("and finless").

ἀβροδίαιτον, ὡς ὁ τοῖς Ἰωσι καὶ Συβαρίταις τὰ
περὶ θρύψιν καὶ χλιδὴν εἰσηγησάμενος, ἀλλὰ μέσσην
ἀτραπὸν ἀμφοῖν ἀνατεμὼν τὸ μὲν σφοδρὸν ἐχάλασε,
τὸ δ' ἀνειμένον ἐπέτεινε, τὰς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν
ἄκρων ὑπερβολὰς ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ κερασά-
μενος τῇ μέσῃ, πρὸς ἁρμονίαν βίου καὶ συμφωνίαν
ἀνεπίληπτον· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ
πεφροντισμένως οἷς χρηστέον ἢ τοῦναντίον διετά-

103 ξατο. θηρία ὅσα σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
ἄπτεται τάχα μὲν ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ
αὐτὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πάσχειν οἷς διατίθῃσι·
Μωυσῇ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀπολαύσεως ἀνέχειν δοκεῖ,
<εἰ> καὶ προσηνεστάτην καὶ ἡδίστην εὐωχίαν
παρασκευάζει, λογιζόμενος τὸ πρέπον ἡμέρῳ ψυχῇ·
καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς διατιθεῖσιν ἁρμόττει τὰ παραπλήσια
παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἀντιδιατιθέσθαι, μὴ
λάθωσιν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἀγρίου πάθους, θηριωθέντες.

104 καὶ τοσαύτῃ χρῆται προφυλακῇ τοῦ πράγματος,
ὥστε μακρόθεν ἀνεῖρξαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ
λεχθέντα ὁρμὴν ἀπαγορεῦσαι καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
σαρκοβόρων ἀνὰ κράτος χρήσεως, τὰ ποηφάγα
διακρίνας εἰς ἡμέρους ἀγέλας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν
ἐστὶ τιθασά, τροφαῖς ἡμέροις αἷς ἀναδίδωσι γῇ
χρῶμενα καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν πραγματευόμενα.

105 XVIII. | δέκα δ' ἐστὶν ἀριθμῷ· μόσχος, ἀμνός,
[353] χίμαρος, ἔλαφος, δορκάς, βούβαλος, τραγέλαφος,
πύγαργος, ὄρυξ, καμηλοπάρδαλις. αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆς
ἀριθμητικῆς θεωρίας περιεχόμενος, ἦν ἀκριβῶς

^a Or "tendency to such vindictiveness." For μακρόθεν see App. p. 432.

^b Deut. xiv. 4 f. The correctness of the English equivalents must be regarded as uncertain.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 102-105

him who introduced the Ionians and Sybarites to luxurious and voluptuous practices. Instead he opened up a path midway between the two. He relaxed the overstrained and tightened the lax, and as on an instrument of music blended the very high and the very low at each end of the scale with the middle chord, thus producing a life of harmony and concord which none can blame. Consequently he neglected nothing, but drew up very careful rules as to what they should or should not take as food.

Possibly it might be thought just 103
that all wild beasts that feed on human flesh should suffer from men what men have suffered from them. But Moses would have us abstain from the enjoyment of such, even though they provide a very appetizing and delectable repast. He was considering what is suitable to a gentle-mannered soul, for though it is fitting enough that one should suffer for what one has done, it is not fitting conduct for the sufferers to retaliate it on the wrongdoers, lest the savage passion of anger should turn them unawares into beasts. So careful is he against this 104
danger that wishing to restrain by implication the appetite for the food just mentioned,^a he also strictly forbade them to eat the other carnivorous animals. He distinguished between them and the graminivorous which he grouped with the gentle kind since indeed they are naturally tame and live on the gentle fruits which the earth produces and do nothing by way of attempting the life of others. XVIII. They are the calf, the lamb, the kid, the 105
hart, the gazelle, the buffalo, the wild goat, the pygarg, the antelope, and the giraffe, ten in all.^b For as he always adhered to the principles of

κατανενόηκεν ὅτι πλείστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι δύναται, οὐδὲν οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα νομοθετεῖ μὴ προσπαρалаβὼν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐφαρμόσας τὸν οἰκεῖον τοῖς νομοθετουμένοις <ἀριθμόν>. ἀριθμῶν δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τελειότατος ἢ δεκάς καί, ὥς φησι Μωυσῆς, ἱερώτατός τε καὶ ἅγιος, ᾧ τὰ γένη τῶν καθαρῶν ζώων ἐπισφραγίζεται, βουληθεὶς τὴν τούτων χρῆσιν ἀπονεῖμαι τοῖς μετέχουσι τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείας.

- 106 βάσανον δὲ καὶ δοκιμασίαν τῶν δέκα ζώων ὑπογράφεται κοινῇ κατὰ διττὰ σημεῖα, τό τε διχηλεῖν καὶ τὸ μηρυκᾶσθαι· οἷς γὰρ ἢ μηδέτερον ἢ θάτερον αὐτὸ μόνον πρόσσεστιν, ἀκάθαρτα. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ σημεῖα ἀμφοτέρωθεν σύμβολα διδασκαλίας καὶ μαθήσεως ἐπιστημονικωτάτης ἐστίν, ἥ πρὸς τὸ ἀσύγχυτον τὰ βελτίω τῶν ἐναντίων διακρίνεται.
- 107 καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώμενον ζῶον, ὅταν διατεμὸν τὴν τροφήν ἐναπερείσῃται τῇ φάρυγγι, πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνιμᾶται καὶ ἐπιλαίνει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς κοιλίαν διαπέμπεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ παιδευόμενος, δεξάμενος δι' ὥτων τὰ σοφίας δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα παρὰ τοῦ διδάσκοντος, ἐπὶ πλεόν ἔχει τὴν μάθησιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν εὐθύς συλλαβέσθαι καὶ περιδράξασθαι κραταιότερον, ἄχρῃς ἂν ἕκαστον ὦν ἤκουσεν ἀναπολῶν μνήμη συνεχέσι μελέταις—αἱ δ' εἰσὶ κόλλα νοημάτων—ἐνσφρα-
108 γίσσεται τῇ ψυχῇ βεβαίως τὸν τύπον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὥς ἔοικεν ὄφελος ἢ τῶν νοημάτων βεβαία κατάληψις, εἰ μὴ προσγένοιτο διαστολή τούτων καὶ διαίρεσις εἰς τε αἵρεσιν ὦν χρὴ καὶ φυγὴν τῶν

^a Lev. xi. 3 f., Deut. xiv. 6 f. For the allegorical inter-

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 105-108

numerical science, which he knew by close observance to be a paramount factor in all that exists, he never enacted any law great or small without calling to his aid and as it were accommodating to his enactment its appropriate number. But of all the numbers from the unit upwards ten is the most perfect, and, as Moses says, most holy and sacred, and with this he seals his list of the clean kinds of animals when he wishes to appoint them for the use of the members of his commonwealth.

He adds a general method for proving 106 and testing the ten kinds, based on two signs, the parted hoof and the chewing of the cud.^a Any kind which lacks both or one of these is unclean. Now both these two are symbols to teacher and learner of the method best suited for acquiring knowledge, the method by which the better is distinguished from the worse, and thus confusion is avoided. For just as a cud-chewing animal after 107 biting through the food keeps it at rest in the gullet, again after a bit draws it up and masticates it and then passes it on to the belly, so the pupil after receiving from the teacher through his ears the principles and lore of wisdom prolongs the process of learning, as he cannot at once apprehend and grasp them securely, till by using memory to call up each thing that he has heard by constant exercises which act as the cement of conceptions, he stamps a firm impression of them on his soul. But the firm 108 apprehension of conceptions is clearly useless unless we discriminate and distinguish them so that we can choose what we should choose and avoid the

pretation of "dividing the hoof" and "chewing the cud" *cf. De Agr.* 131-145, and see App. p. 434.

- ἐναντίων, ἥς τὸ διχηλοῦν σύμβολον· ἐπεὶ τοῦ βίου διττὴ ὁδός, ἥ μὲν ἐπὶ κακίαν, ἥ δ' ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσα, καὶ δεῖ τὴν μὲν ἀποστρέφεσθαι, τῆς δὲ
 109 μὴδέποτε ἀπολείπεσθαι. XIX. διὰ τοῦθ' ὅσα ἢ μονώνυχχα ἢ πολύχχλα τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα, ὅτι αἰνίττεται μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, καθάπερ κοίλου καὶ περιφεροῦς καὶ ἀνάντους ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάντους, τὰ δ' ὅτι πολλὰς
 [354] ὁδοὺς μᾶλλον δ' ἀνοδίας ἐμφαίνει τῷ | βίῳ πρὸς ἀπάτην· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐν πλήθει τὴν ἀνυσιμωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην ἀτραπὸν καταλαβεῖν.
- 110 XX. Τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν χερσαίων τοὺς ὄρους θεὸς ἄρχεται καὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων τὰ πρὸς ἔδωδὴν καθαρὰ διαγράφειν, σημειωσάμενος καὶ ταῦτα διττοῖς χαρακτῆρσι, πτέρυξι καὶ λεπίσι· τὰ γὰρ ἢ μὴδέτερον ἢ θάτερον ἔχοντα παραπέμπει καὶ παραιτεῖται. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λεκτέον.
- 111 ὅσα μὲν ἢ ἀμφοῖν ἀμέτοχα ἢ τοῦ ἑτέρου, κατασύρεται πρὸς τοῦ ῥοώδους ἀντέχειν ἀδυνατοῦντα τῇ βίᾳ τῆς φορᾶς· οἷς δ' ἑκάτερον πρόσσεστιν, ἀποστρέφει <καὶ> μετωπηδὸν ἀνθίσταται καὶ φιλονεικοῦντα πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον προθυμίαις καὶ τόλμαις ἀηττήτοις γυμνάζεται, ὥς ὠθούμενά τε ἀντωθεῖν καὶ διωκόμενα ἀντεπιτρέχειν, ὁδοὺς ἐν δυσοδοίαις ἀναστέλλοντα εὐρείας πρὸς διεξόδους
 112 εὐμαρεῖς. σύμβολα δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστί, τὰ μὲν

^a That πολύχχλα is not a mere casual addition is shown by the interpretation given of it in the next words. But there is no foundation for it in Leviticus or Deuteronomy, nor in Philo's discussion of διχηλεῖν in *De Agr.* Nor am I clear what zoologically it means ("many-toed"?). Heinemann translates "Vielhufer"; Mangey "quae plures ungulas habent." All I can suggest is that Philo supposes that, as the stress is

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 108-112

contrary, and this distinguishing is symbolized by the parted hoof. For the way of life is twofold, one branch leading to vice, the other to virtue and we must turn away from the one and never forsake the other. XIX. Therefore all creatures whose hooves are uniform or multiform^a are unclean, the one because they signify the idea that good and bad have one and the same nature, which is like confusing concave and convex or uphill and downhill in a road; the multiform because they set before our life many roads, which are rather no roads, to cheat us, for where there is a multitude to choose from it is not easy to find the best and most serviceable path. 109

XX. After laying down these limitations for the land animals he proceeds to describe such creatures of the water as are clean for eating. These too he indicates by two distinguishing marks, fins and scales; all that lack either or both he dismisses and repudiates.^b I must state the reason for this which is appropriate enough. Any that fail to possess both or one of these marks are swept away by the current unable to resist the force of the stream; those who possess both throw it aside, front and stem it and pertinaciously exercise themselves against the antagonist with an invincible ardour and audacity. When they are pushed they push back, when pursued they hasten to assail, where their passage is hampered they open up broad roads and obtain easy thoroughfares. These two kinds of fish are symbolical, the first of a pleasure- 111

laid upon the "two" in διχηγλεῖν, if there are animals πολύχηλα they will be unclean also. See also App. p. 434.

^b Lev. xi. 9 ff., Deut. xiv. 9 f.

πρότερα φιληδόνου ψυχῆς, τὰ δ' ὕστερα καρτερίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ποθούσης· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄγουσα κατάντης ἐστὶ καὶ ῥάστη, συρμὸν ἀπεργαζομένη μᾶλλον ἢ περίπατον, ἀνάντης δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπίπονος μὲν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὠφέλιμος· καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑποφέρει καὶ ὑπονοστεῖν ἀναγκάζει τῷ πρανεὶ κατάγουσα, μέχρις ἂν εἰς τὰ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἀποβράσῃ, ἡ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄγει τοὺς μὴ προκαμόντας ἀθανατίζουσα, τὸ τραχὺ καὶ δυσαναπόρευτον αὐτῆς ἰσχύσαντας ὑπομείναι.

- 113 XXI. Τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἰδέας ἐχόμενος τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὅσα ἢ ἄποδα ἢ¹ συρμῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἰλυσπώμενα ἢ τετρασκελῇ καὶ πολύποδα φησὶν εἶναι πρὸς ἐδωδὴν οὐ καθαρὰ, πάλιν αἰνιττόμενος διὰ μὲν ἐρπετῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ κοιλίαις² τὸν αἰθυίης τρόπον ἐμφορουμένους καὶ γαστρὶ τῇ ταλαίνῃ δασμοὺς ἀπαύστως εἰσφέροντας ἀκράτου, πεμμάτων, ἰχθύων, συνόλως ὅσα σιτοπόνων καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν τετεχνιτευμένοι περιεργαί μετὰ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων δημιουργοῦσιν ἀναρριπίζουσαι καὶ προσαναφλέγουσαι τὰς ἀπλήστους καὶ ἀκορέστους ἐπιθυμίας, διὰ δὲ τῶν τετρασκελῶν καὶ πολυπόδων τοὺς μὴ ἐνὸς πάθους, ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ συμπάντων κακοὺς δού-

¹ As the *ἄποδα* are presumably the same as the *συρμῷ* κτλ. Heinemann would substitute *καὶ*. Perhaps omit *ἢ*.

² See note *b*.

^a Lev. xi. 42. E.V. "Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four or whatsoever hath many feet." LXX *πᾶς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τέσσαρα διὰ παντός, ὁ πολυπληθεὶ ποσίν*, which would naturally mean that the four-

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 112-113

loving soul, the latter of one to which endurance and self-control are dear. For the road that leads to pleasure is downhill and very easy, with the result that one does not walk but is dragged along; the other which leads to self-control is uphill, toilsome no doubt but profitable exceedingly. The one carries us away, forced lower and lower as it drives us down its steep incline, till it flings us off on to the level ground at its foot; the other leads heavenwards the immortal who have not fainted on the way and have had the strength to endure the roughness of the hard ascent.

XXI. Holding to the same method he declares 113 that all reptiles which have not feet but wriggle along by trailing their belly, or are four-legged and many footed are unclean for eating.^a Here again he has a further meaning: by the reptiles he signifies persons who devote themselves to their bellies^b and fill themselves like a cormorant,^c paying to the miserable stomach constant tributes of strong drink, bake-meats, fishes and in general all the delicacies produced with every kind of viand by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, thereby fanning and fostering the flame of the insatiable ever-greedy desires. By the four-legged and many footed he means the base slaves not of one passion only, desire,

legged and the many footed form a single class, and so Philo treats them in the interpretation that follows. The slaves of the four main passions are also slaves to the many specific passions into which these four are subdivided. For the same interpretation of the "four-legged" cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 139.

^b Lit. "those upon bellies," certainly a strange phrase. Cohn would correct to τῶν ἐπὶ κοιλίαις <πορευόμενων, τοὺς>. See *Hermes*, 1908, p. 209.

^c See App. p. 434.

- λους, ἃ γένει μὲν ἔστιν ἀριθμῷ τέτταρα, μυρία δὲ τοῖς εἶδεσιν. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐνὸς δεσποτεία, βαρυτάτη δὲ καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὡς εἰκός, ἡ πλειόνων.
- 114 οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὑπεράνω σκέλη τῶν ποδῶν ἔστιν, ὥστε πηδᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς δύνασθαι, ταύτ' [355] ἐν | καθαροῖς ἀναγράφει, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν ἀκρίδων γένη καὶ τὸν ὀφιομάχην καλούμενον, πάλιν διὰ συμβόλων ἦθη καὶ τρόπους λογικῆς ψυχῆς διερευνώμενος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ὀλκὴ φύσει βρίθουσα τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας συνεφέλκεται τῷ πλήθει
- 115 τῶν σαρκῶν ἀνχενίζουσα καὶ πιέζουσα· μακάριοι δ' οἷς ἐξεγένετο κραταιοτέρᾳ δυνάμει πρὸς τὴν ῥοπὴν τῆς ὀλκῆς ἀντιβιάσασθαι,¹ παιδείας κανόνσιν ὀρθῆς ἄνω πηδᾶν δεδιδαγμένοις ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν χαμαιζήλων εἰς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, ὧν ἡ θεὰ ζηλωτὴ καὶ περιμάχητος τοῖς ἐκουσίως ἀλλὰ μὴ παρέργως ἤκουσιν.
- 116 XXII. Ἐπεληλυθῶς οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τὰς τε τῶν χερσαίων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων ιδέας καὶ νόμοις αὐτὰς ὡς ἐνῆν ἄριστα διακρίνας ἀρχεται καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν φύσιν τῶν ἐν ἀέρι προσεξετάζειν, μυρία γένη τῶν πτηνῶν ἀποδοκιμάσας ὅσα ἢ κατ' ἄλλων² ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φονᾶ, σαρκοβόρα καὶ ἰοβόλα καὶ συνόλως ἐπιβούλοις κεχρημένα ταῖς
- 117 δυνάμεσι. φάττας δὲ καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ τρυγόνας

¹ Cohn places the comma after ὀρθῆς.

² Cohn suggests ἀλόγων, and so probably Heinemann who translates "Tieren."

^a Lev. xi. 21. The "snake-fighter" is the LXX translation of the Hebrew word given in R.V. as "cricket."

^b Or "straight"; the creatures have to straighten their legs to leap. κανὼν is perhaps used in its original sense of a ruler to keep lines straight, in which sense it is often associated

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 113-117

but of all. For the passions fall under four main heads but have a multitude of species, and while the tyranny of one is cruel the tyranny of many cannot but be most harsh and intolerable. Creeping 114 things which have legs above their feet, so that they can leap from the ground, he classes among the clean^a as for instance the different kinds of grasshoppers and the snake-fighter as it is called ; and here again by symbols he searches into the temperaments and ways of a reasonable soul. For the natural gravitation of the body pulls down with it those of little mind, strangling and overwhelming them with the multitude of the fleshly elements. Blessed are they 115 to whom it is given to resist with superior strength the weight that would pull them down, taught by the guiding lines of right^b instruction to leap upward from earth and earth-bound things into the ether and the revolving heavens, that sight so much desired, so worthy a prize in the eyes of those who come to it with a will and not half-heartedly.

XXII. Having discoursed on the subject of the 116 different kinds of animals on land and in the water and laid down the best possible laws for distinguishing between them, he proceeds to examine also the remaining parts of the animal creation, the inhabitants of the air. Of these he disqualified a vast number of kinds, in fact all that prey on other fowls or on men, creatures which are carnivorous and venomous and in general use their strength to attack others.^c But doves, pigeons, turtledoves, and 117

with ὀρθός. Cf. *De Fug.* 152 παιδείας κανὼν ὀρθῆς, preceded (§ 150) by ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλινῇ παιδεῖαν.

^c Lev. xi. 13 ff., Deut. xiv. 12 ff. The "clean" species are not mentioned. See App. p. 434.

- καὶ τὰς γεράνων καὶ χηνῶν καὶ ὁμοιοτρόπων
 ἀγέλας ἐν τῇ τιθασῷ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τάξει καταριθμεῖ
 παρέχων τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν τούτων χρήσιν
 118 ἀδεᾶ. οὕτως ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν,
 γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος, γένη παντοίων ζώων, χερσαία
 καὶ ἔνυδρα καὶ πτηνά, τῆς ἡμετέρας χρήσεως
 ὑφαιρῶν, καθάπερ ὕλην πυρός, σβέσιν τῆς ἐπι-
 θυμίας ἀπεργάζεται.
- 119 XXIII. Κελεύει μέντοι μήτε θνησιμαῖον μήτε
 θηριάλωτον προσίεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐ δέον κοινω-
 νεῖν τραπέζης ἀνθρωπῶν¹ ἀτιθάσις θηρίοις, μόνον
 οὐ συνευωχούμενον ταῖς σαρκοφαγίαις, τὸ δ' ὡς
 τάχα μὲν βλαβερόν καὶ νοσῶδες, ἐναποτεθηκότος
 τοῦ ἰχώρος μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ
 τελευτῇ προκατεσχημένον ἀρμόττον ἦν ἄψαυστον
 διαφυλάττειν, αἰδουμένους τὰς φύσεως ἀνάγκας αἷς
 120 προκατελήφθη. τοὺς περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια δεινούς
 καὶ βάλλειν θήρας εὐσκόπως ἐπισταμένους, ἥκιστα
 διαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ ἐπ' εὐθήροις ἄγραις ὑψαυ-
 χενοῦντας καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν σὺν τοῖς κυνηγοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ σκύλαξι διανέμωσι τὰ μέρη τῶν
 ἐαλωκότων, ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν παρ'

¹ MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

^a Or perhaps "take for food," and so Heinemann "geniessen," Mangey "edere." But the word does not itself carry this sense, though Philo assumes in the sequel that such bodies would only be touched in order to use them as food. He uses the vaguer word, I think, because the LXX in Lev. v. 2, differing from the Hebrew, forbids or might be understood to forbid touching such bodies, ἐὰν ἄψῃται παντὸς πράγματος ἀκαθάρτου, ἢ θνησιμαίου ἢ θηριαλώτου ἀκαθάρτου. Eating θνησιμαῖα is forbidden in Deut. xiv. 21, θηριαλώτα in Ex. xxii. 31, and both in Lev. xxii. 8 (not mentioned by Cohn or Heinemann).

the tribes of cranes, geese and the like he reckons as belonging to the tame and gentle class and gives to any who wish full liberty to make use of them as food. Thus in each element of the universe, 118 earth, water, air he withdrew from our use various kinds of each sort, land creatures, water creatures, flying fowls, and by this as by the withdrawal of fuel from a fire he creates an extinguisher to desire.

XXIII. Further he forbade them to have any- 119 thing to do with^a bodies of animals that have died of themselves or have been torn by wild beasts, the latter because a man ought not to be table mate with savage brutes and one might almost say share with them the enjoyment of their feasts of flesh; the former perhaps because it is a noxious and insanitary practice since the body contains dead serum as well as blood; also it may be because the fitness of things bids us keep untouched what we find deceased, and respect the fate which the compulsion of nature has already imposed. Skilful 120 hunters who know how to hit their quarry with an aim that rarely misses the mark and preen themselves on their success in this sport, particularly when they share^b the pieces of their prey with the other huntsmen as well as with the hounds, are extolled by most legislators among Greeks and

^b If this is right (and *κοινωνικούς* below suggests that they keep some for themselves), it is a use of *διανέμειν* for which I can find no authority. The wording would be more natural if *τά* was omitted, but even then *σύν* is strange. The *κοινωνικόν* so praised lies in giving them to the huntsmen, and it is this which Philo thinks undesirable. "They distribute pieces to the huntsmen as well as to the dogs" is the sense required.

Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις νομοθετῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρείους
 [356] μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνικοὺς τὸ ἦθος, | μέμψαιτο
 δ' ἂν [τις] εἰκότως ὁ τῆς ἱεράς εἰσηγητῆς πολιτείας,
 ἄντικρυς ἀπειρηκῶς θησιμαίων καὶ θηριαλώτων
 121 ἀπόλαυσιν διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας. εἰ δέ τις
 τῶν ἀσκητῶν φιλογυμναστῆς γένοιτο καὶ φιλό-
 θηρος, μελέτας καὶ προάγωνας ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι
 πολέμων καὶ κινδύνων τῶν πρὸς ἐχθρούς, ὁπότε
 χρήσαιτο εὐτυχίᾳ τῇ περὶ ἄγραν, [καὶ] τοὺς ἐαλω-
 κότας θήρας προτιθέτω κυσὶν εὐωχίαν, μισθὸν ἢ
 γέρας εὐτολμίας καὶ ἀνυπαιτίου συμμαχίας, αὐτὸς
 δὲ μὴ ψανέτω προδιδασκόμενος ἐν ἀλόγοις ζώοις,
 ἃ χρή καὶ περὶ ἐχθρῶν φρονεῖν, οἷς πολεμητέον οὐ
 διὰ κέρδος ἄδικον λωποδυντούντων πράξεις <μιμου-
 μένοις>,¹ ἀλλ' ἦτοι διὰ πείραν² κακῶν ὧν προ-
 πεπόνθασιν ἀμυνομένοις³ ἢ δι' ἃ προσδοκῶσι
 πείσεσθαι.

¹ Some insertion is required, but κατὰ after ἄδικον would serve equally well and be perhaps easier. See also note 3.

² Of the two mss. available here one omits πείραν, possibly rightly. πείρα does not seem to be used like the English "experience" for something suffered, though it may be used in such phrases as πείραν λαμβάνειν = "to gain experience in." To omit it involves taking δι' ὧν of causes in the past, and δι' ἃ of prospects in the future, but this, I think, could be paralleled from Philo.

³ So mss. Cohn corrects to ἀμυνομένους. But the accusative and dative are both used to express the agent of the verbal in -τέον. See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 369, where the dative is said to be the commoner of the two. The same rule will apply to the insertion of μιμουμένοις above, where Cohn prints -ους.

^a Or perhaps "would probably blame them." Heinemann

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 120-121

Barbarians, not only for their courage, but also for their liberality. But the author of the holy commonwealth might rightly blame them^a since for the reasons stated he definitely forbade the enjoyment of bodies which died a natural death or were torn by wild beasts. If anyone of the devotees¹²¹ of hard training who is a lover of gymnastic exercises becomes a lover of the chase also,^b because he considers that it gives a preliminary practice for war and for the dangers incurred in facing the enemy, he should when he meets with success in the chase throw the fallen beasts to feast the hounds as a wage or prize for their courage and faithful assistance. He himself should not touch these carcases, thus learning from his dealing with irrational animals what he should feel with regard to human enemies, who should be combated not for wrongful gain as foot-pads do, but in self-defence, either to avenge the injuries which he has suffered already or to guard against those which he expects to suffer in the future.

"has rightly blamed them," which apart from the inaccuracy gives, I believe, a wrong sense. Philo does not speak dogmatically, but thinks that what he urges here may be fairly inferred from the prohibitions mentioned above. Indeed how could the seven species of "clean" game (§ 105) be obtained except by hunting?

^b Or, as Heinemann and Mangey, "if a practiser (of virtue) should become a lover of gymnastics and hunting." The version given above (taking *καί* = "also") is based on the belief that *ἀσκητής* is not used absolutely in this way. It means "a practiser" and a practiser of what is indicated by the context, and that the body rather than virtue is being practised is indicated by *φιλογυμναστής*. Hunting is a special form of bodily exercise and while the *φιλόθηρος* must be a *φιλογυμναστής* the converse is not necessarily the case. For the motive here ascribed *cf. De Ios. 3 and Mos. i. 60.*

- 122 Ἐνιοι δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλοι τὴν ἀκρασίαν τὴν ἄγαν¹
 ἀβροδίατον αὐτῶν χανδὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ
 ἀτελεύτητον ἀποτείνοντες, καινὰς² ἐπινοοῦντες
 ἡδονάς, ἄθυστα παρασκευάζουσιν, ἄγχοντες καὶ
 ἀποπνίγοντες, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν ἐλεύ-
 θερον καὶ ἄφετον ἐχρῆν ἔαν, τυμβεύοντες τῷ
 σώματι τὸ αἷμα· σαρκῶν γὰρ αὐτὸ μόνον ἀπολαύειν
 αὐταρκες ἦν, μηδενὸς ἐφαπτομένους τῶν συγγένειαν
 123 πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐχόντων. ὅθεν ἐν ἐτέροις τίθησι νόμον
 περὶ αἵματος, μήθ' αἷμα μήτε στέαρ προσφέρεσθαι·
 τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ἣν εἶπον αἰτίαν ὅτι οὐσία ψυχῆς
 ἐστίν—οὐχὶ τῆς νοεράς καὶ λογικῆς ἀλλὰ τῆς
 αἰσθητικῆς, καθ' ἣν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις κοινὸν
 τὸ ζῆν συμβέβηκεν. XXIV. ἐκείνης γὰρ οὐσία
 πνεῦμα θεῖον καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσῆν, ὃς ἐν τῇ
 κοσμοποιίᾳ φησὶν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ἀρχη-
 γέτῃ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐμφυσῆσαι πνοὴν ζωῆς τὸν
 θεὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡγεμονικώτατον, τὸ
 πρόσωπον, ἔνθα αἱ δορυφόροι τοῦ νοῦ καθάπερ
 μεγάλου βασιλέως αἰσθήσεις παρίδρυνται· τὸ δ'
 ἐμφυσώμενον δῆλον ὡς αἰθέριον ἦν πνεῦμα καὶ εἰ
 δὴ τι αἰθερίου πνεύματος κρεῖσσον, ἅτε τῆς μα-
 καρίας καὶ τρισμακαρίας φύσεως ἀπαύγασμα—,
 124 τὸ δὲ στέαρ, διότι πιότατον, πάλιν εἰς διδασκαλίαν

¹ MSS. ἀρὰν.² MSS. κενὰς.

^a Heinemann apparently takes ἄγχοντες καὶ ἀποπνίγοντες as governing τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ψυχῆς. (καί="even.") But the essence of the soul is clearly the blood and this is not strangled. I understand the participles to govern ζῶα, understood out of ἄθυστα. Strangling is not forbidden in so many words, but cf. Acts xv. 29 ἀπέχεσθαι . . . αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 122-124

But some of the type of Sardanapalus greedily 122 extend their unrestrained and excessive luxury beyond all bounds and limits. They devise novel kinds of pleasure and prepare meat unfit for the altar by strangling and throttling the animals,^a and entomb in the carcase the blood which is the essence of the soul^b and should be allowed to run freely away. For they should be fully contented with enjoying the flesh only and not lay hold on what is akin to the soul; and therefore elsewhere^c he 123 legislates on the subject of blood that no one should put either it or the fat to his mouth. Blood is prohibited for the reason which I have mentioned that it is the essence of the soul, not of the intelligent and reasonable soul, but of that which operates through the senses, the soul that gives the life which we and the irrational animals possess in common. XXIV. For the essence or substance of that other soul is divine spirit, a truth vouched for by Moses especially, who in his story of the creation says that God breathed a breath of life upon the first man, the founder of our race, into the lordliest part of his body, the face,^d where the senses are stationed like bodyguards to the great king, the mind. And clearly what was then thus breathed was ethereal spirit, or something if such there be better than ethereal spirit, even an effulgence of the blessed, thrice blessed nature of the Godhead. The fat is prohibited because it is the richest part 124

^b See Lev. xvii. 11 and 14. *LXX ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.* Cf. Deut. xii. 23.

^c Lev. iii. 17. As the law deals with fat and blood Heine-mann suspects *περὶ αἵματος* as a gloss, but the law is quoted for blood and not for fat.

^d Gen. ii. 7. E.V. "into his nostrils." *LXX* "face."

- ἐγκρατείας καὶ ζῆλον αὐστηροῦ βίου, τὰ μὲν
 ῥᾶστα καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς μεθιεμένου, φροντίδας δὲ
 καὶ πόνους ἐθέλοντι ἔνεκα κτήσεως ἀρετῆς ὑπο-
 125 μένοντος. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας ἀπὸ παντὸς ἱερείου δύο
 ταῦτα ἐξαίρετα ὀλοκαυτοῦνται, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἀπαρ-
 [357] χαί, στέαρ τε καὶ αἷμα, τὸ | μὲν ὡς σπονδὴ τῷ
 βωμῷ προσχεόμενον, τὸ δ' ὡς ὕλη φλογὸς ἐπι-
 φερόμενον ἀντ' ἐλαίου διὰ τὴν πιότητα τῷ καθ-
 ωσιωμένῳ καὶ ἱερῷ πυρί.
- 126 Μέμφεταιί τινας τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γεγονότων ὡς
 γαστριμάργους καὶ τὸ καθηδυπαθεῖν ὡς εὐδαιμο-
 νικὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντας, οἷς
 οὐκ ἀπέχρη κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸ μόνον τρυφᾶν, ἐν αἷς
 αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ παρασκευαὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων ἄ-
 φθονοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ <ἐν> ἐρημίαις ἀβάτοις καὶ ἀτρι-
 βέσιν, ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταύταις ἀγορὰς ἔχειν ἰχθύων
 127 καὶ κρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν εὐετηρίᾳ πάντων. εἰπ'
 ἐπειδὴ σπάνις ἦν, συννιστάμενοι κατεβόων καὶ
 κατηγοροῦν καὶ ἐδυσώπουν ἀναισχύντῳ θράσει τὸν
 ἄρχοντα καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο νεωτερίζοντες
 ἢ τυχεῖν μὲν ὦν ὠρέγοντο, τυχεῖν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ,
 δυοῖν ἔνεκα· τοῦ τ' ἐπιδείξασθαι, ὅτι πάντα θεῷ
 δυνατὰ πόρον ἐξ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀπόρων ἀνευρί-
 σκοντι, καὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς γαστρὸς ἀκρά-
 128 τος καὶ ἀφηνιαστὰς ὁσιότητος. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς
 θαλάττης ἀρθέν ὀρτυγομήτρας νέφος ἐκχεῖται περὶ
 τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ πέριξ ἐφ'
 ἡμερήσιον ἀνδρὸς εὐζώνου πανταχόθεν ἐν κύκλῳ

^a Lev. iv. 7-10, and elsewhere.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 124-128

and here again he teaches us to practise self-restraint and foster the aspiration for the life of austerity which relinquishes what is easiest and lies ready to hand, but willingly endures anxiety and toils in order to acquire virtue. It is for this reason ¹²⁵ that with every victim these two, the blood and the fat, are set apart as a sort of first fruits and consumed in their entirety. The blood is poured upon the altar as a libation, the fat because of its richness serves as fuel in place of oil and is carried to the holy and consecrated fire.^a

^b Moses censures some of his own day as gluttons ¹²⁶ who suppose that wanton self-indulgence is the height of happiness, who not contented to confine luxurious living to cities where their requirements would be unstintedly supplied and catered for, demanded the same in wild and trackless deserts and expected to have fish, flesh and all the accompaniments of plenty exposed there for sale. Then, ¹²⁷ when there was a scarcity, they joined together to accuse and reproach and brow-beat their ruler with shameless effrontery and did not cease from giving trouble until their desire was granted though it was to their undoing. It was granted for two reasons, first to show that all things are possible to God who finds a way out of impassable difficulties, secondly to punish those who let their belly go uncontrolled and rebelled against holiness. Rising ¹²⁸ up from the sea in the early dawn there poured forth a cloud of quails whereby the camp and its environs were all round on every side darkened for a distance which an active ^c man might cover in a

^b For §§ 126-131 see Num. xi., especially vv. 31-34.

^c See App. p. 435.

συνεσκίαστο, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῆς τῶν ζώων πτήσεως
 ὡσεὶ διπήχει¹ συναριθμουμένῳ διαστήματι τῆς γῆς
 129 ἀφειστήκει πρὸς εὐμαρῇ σύλληψιν. εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν
 τὸ τεράστιον τοῦ μεγαλουργηθέντος καταπλαγέντας
 ἀρκεσθῆναι τῇ θεᾷ καὶ γεμισθέντας εὐσεβείας καὶ²
 ταύτῃ τραφέντας ἀποσχέσθαι κρεωφαγίας· οἱ δὲ
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείραντες ὥς ἐπὶ
 μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἴεντο καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις
 χερσὶν ἐφελκόμενοι τοὺς κόλπους ἐπλήρουν, εἰτ'
 ἐναποτιθέμενοι ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐφ' ἑτέρων σύλληψιν
 ἐξήεσαν³—αἱ γὰρ ἄγαν πλεονεξίαι μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσι
 —καὶ σκευάζοντες πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφο-
 ροῦντο, μέλλοντες οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πλη-
 130 σμονῆς ἀπόλλυσθαι. καὶ δῆτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καθ-
 ἄρσεσι χολῆς ἐφθάρησαν, ὥς καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 περὶ αὐτοὺς πάθους τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβεῖν· ἐκλήθη
 γὰρ “Μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας,” ἥς οὐκ ἔστιν
 ἐν ψυχῇ, καθάπερ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ λόγος, μεῖζον κακόν.

¹ MSS. εἶδει πῆχεως or εἰ δίπηχυ.

² So MSS. Cohn κᾶν. Mangey καὶ ταύτῃ <ἐν>τραφέντας. See note b.

³ MSS. ἐξιέσαν.

^a In E.V. (v. 31) “the wind let them fall about two cubits.” The LXX ἐπέβαλεν does not bring this out so clearly and Philo seems to suppose that the whole of their flight was at this height.

^b Cohn and Mangey’s readings (see note 2) evidently mean that having been bred in piety they would have abstained. I greatly prefer the more forcible reading of the MSS., which is by no means an absurd exaggeration. A state of great religious excitement does produce an independence of food. Compare the description in *De Vit. Cont.* 35 of the Therapeutae who “feasting on the rich banquet of doctrines” abstained from food for three or even six days.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 128-130

day, while the height of their flight^a might be reckoned at about two cubits above the ground so as to make them easy to capture. It might have 129 been expected that awestruck by the marvel of this mighty work they would have been satisfied with this spectacle, and filled with piety and having it for their sustenance,^b would have abstained from fleshly food. Instead they spurred on their lusts more than before and hastened to grasp what seemed so great a boon. With both hands they pulled in the creatures and filled their laps with them, then put them away in their tents, and, since excessive avidity knows no bounds, went out to catch others, and after dressing them in any way^c they could devoured them greedily, doomed in their senselessness to be destroyed by the surfeit. Indeed they shortly perished through discharges 130 of bile,^d so that the place also received its name from the disaster which befell them, for it was called "Monuments of Lust"^e—lust than which no greater evil can exist in the soul as the story shows.

^c If this is right, it is an odd extension of the cognate accusative; otherwise "dressing every kind (of quail)." But there is no reason to suppose that there were different kinds of quails. In the E.V. the quails are "spread abroad," *i.e.* cured by drying in the sun, which is rendered in the LXX by *ἔψυξαν ἑαυτοῖς ψυγμούς* "they dried for themselves dryings," a phrase which may have puzzled Philo. Heinemann and Mangey ignore *ἰδέαν*.

^d Cf. v. 20. E.V. "until it come out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you." Here the LXX for "loathsome" has *εἰς χολέραν*="nausea." But "discharges of bile" would be a possible equivalent, and probably the idea was assisted by "come out at your nostrils."

^e E.V. Kibroth-hattaavah. Marg. that is "The graves of lust."

- 131 διὸ παγκάλως ἐν ταῖς παραινέσεσι Μωυσῆς φη-
 σιν· “οὐ ποιήσῃ ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιον
 αὐτοῦ” τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἴσον τῷ “μηδεὶς τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ
 τῇ αὐτοῦ χαρίζεσθω”· εὐαρεστεῖτω γάρ τις θεῷ,
 κόσμῳ, φύσει, νόμοις, σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, φιλαυτίαν
 παραιτούμενος, εἰ μέλλει καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενήσεσθαι.
- 132 XXV. Τοσαῦτα καὶ <περὶ> τῶν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν
 ἀναφερομένων ἀποχρώντως κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἴρη-
 ται πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα λογίων καὶ τῶν
 [358] τούτοις ὑποστελλόντων· | εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ μὲν φωνῇ
 θείᾳ χρησμοδηθέντα κεφάλαια γένη νόμων ἀπο-
 δεῖξαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέρος πάντας οὓς διηρμήνευσε
 Μωυσῆς ὑποστέλλοντα¹ εἶδη, πρὸς τὸ ἀσύγχυτον
 τῆς ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως φιλοτεχνίας ἐδέησεν, ἥ
 χρησάμενος ἑκάστῳ τῶν γενῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς
 νομοθεσίας τὰ οἰκεία προσένειμα καὶ προσέφυσσα.
- 133 Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἅλῃς. οὐ δεῖ δ’ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ὥσ-
 περ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ τῶν δέκα συγγενῇ τινα τῶν ἐπὶ
 μέρους ἐστίν, ἃ πρὸς ἕτερον γένος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοι-
 νωνίαν, οὕτως ἔνια κοινὰ πάντων συμβέβηκεν, οὐχ
 ἐνὶ ἡ δυσί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοῖς <δὲ> δέκα λογίοις
- 134 ἐφαρμόττοντα. ταῦτα δ’ εἰσὶν αἱ κοινωφελεῖς
 ἀρεταί· καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ τῶν δέκα χρησμῶν

¹ My correction for ὑποστέλλων τὰ (which Cohn retains).
 The change from ὑποστέλλοντα intransitive verb to transitive
 verb seems unnatural and awkward.

^a Deut. xii. 8. For παραινέσεις as a name for Deuteronomy
 =the more usual προτρεπτικοί (sc. λόγοι), cf. *De Agr.* 84.

^b Not (as Heinemann) some laws, but the virtues, as ταῦτα
 below shows.

^c Here as in ii. 63, where see note, I see no reason to
 depart from the established rule that ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν does not

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 131-134

And therefore most excellent are these words of 131
Moses in his Exhortations, "Each man shall not do
what is pleasing in his own sight,"^a which is as much
as to say "let no one indulge his own lust. Let a
man be well pleasing to God, to the universe, to
nature, to laws, to wise men and discard self love.
So only will he attain true excellence."

XXV. In these remarks we have discussed the 132
matters relating to desire or lust as adequately
as our abilities allow, and thus completed our
survey of the ten oracles, and the laws which are
dependent on them. For if we are right in describ-
ing the main heads delivered by the voice of God
as generic laws, and all particular laws of which
Moses was the spokesman as dependent species, for
accurate apprehension free from confusion scientific
study was needed, with the aid of which I have
assigned and attached to each of the heads what
was appropriate to them throughout the whole
legislation.

Enough then of this. But we must not fail to 133
know that, just as each of the ten separately has
some particular laws akin to it having nothing in
common with any other, there are some things^b
common to all which fit in not with some particular
number^c such as one or two but with all the ten
Great Words. These are the virtues of universal 134
value. For each of the ten pronouncements separ

introduce a metaphor but a general or rough statement,
particularly of numbers. "One or two" are examples; any
law might conceivably fit in to three or four or any other
number short of ten. Heinemann here as there translates
"so zu sagen," but unless the phrase connotes something
different from the English "so to speak," I can see no
point in it.

- καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐπὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
καὶ θεοσέβειαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χορὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν
ἀλείφουσι καὶ προτρέπουσι, βουλαῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς
ὑγιαίνοντας λόγους, λόγοις δὲ σπουδαίας πράξεις
συνείροντες, ἵνα τὸ ψυχῆς ὄργανον εὐαρμόστως
ὅλον δι' ὅλων συνηχῇ πρὸς ἐμμέλειαν βίου καὶ
135 συμφωνίαν ἀνεπίληπτον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡγε-
μονίδος τῶν ἀρετῶν, εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος, ἔτι
δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης εἴρηται πρό-
τερον, νυνὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐπιτηδευούσης ἀδελφὰ καὶ
συγγενῇ ταύταις δικαιοσύνης λεκτέον.
- 136 XXVI. ¹ Ἐν τὸ δικαιοσύνης οὐ βραχὺ μέρος ἦν
τὸ πρὸς δικαστήρια καὶ δικαστάς, οὐ πρότερον
ἐποισάμην ὑπόμνησιν, ἥνίκα τὰ τῶν μαρτυρίων
ἐπὶ πλεον ἀπομηκύνων διεξήειν ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν
παραλειφθῆναι τῶν ἐμφερομένων. οὐκ εἰωθὼς δὲ
παλιλλογεῖν, εἰ μὴ πού τις ἀνάγκη γένοιτο βιαζο-
μένων τῶν καιρῶν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἔασω, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
137 ἄλλα μέρη τρέψομαι τοσοῦτον προειπών. τὰ δί-
καια, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, ἐντιθέναι δεῖ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ
ἐξάπτειν εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ εἶναι
σειόμενα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, αἰνιττόμενος διὰ τοῦ
προτέρου, ὅτι χρὴ μὴ ὥσιν ἀπίστοις παρακατατίθε-

¹ The mss. here have the heading *Περὶ δικαιοσύνης*, and Cohn begins a fresh numeration of chapters. Though the insertion of a heading would otherwise be justified by the important break at this point, it is unnecessary in view of the concluding words of the last section.

^a i.e. §§ 55-78.

^b Deut. vi. 6, 8 (also xi. 18). E.V. "These words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart . . . and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes." In both places the word translated "frontlets" (whence the (head) phylacteries of

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 134-137

ately and all in common incite and exhort us to wisdom and justice and godliness and the rest of the company of virtues, with good thoughts and intentions combining wholesome words, and with words actions of true worth, that so the soul with every part of its being attuned may be an instrument making harmonious music so that life becomes a melody and a concert in which there is no faulty note. Of the queen of the virtues, piety or holiness, we have spoken earlier and also of wisdom and temperance. Our theme must now be she whose ways are close akin to them, that is justice. 135

XXVI. One and by no means an inconsiderable 136 part of justice is that which is concerned with law courts and judges. This I have already^a mentioned, when I dealt at length with the question of testimony in order to omit nothing of the points involved. As it is not my custom to repeat myself unless forced to do so by the pressure of the particular occasion I will say no more about it and with only so much preface address myself to the other parts of the subject. The law tells us that we must set the 137 rules of justice in the heart and fasten them for a sign upon the hand and have them shaking before the eyes.^b The first of these is a parable indicating that the rules of justice must not be committed to

Matt. xxiii. 5) is given in the LXX by ἀσάλευτον "unshaken." The sequel shows that Philo read σαλευτόν. See App. p. 435.

Actually these words prescribe obedience to God's law, and so belong rather to εὐσέβεια. Heinemann suggests that the description of them as δικαιώματα in v. 3 may have led him to dwell upon them here. Perhaps it is enough to say that as the Deuteronomic code, which he mostly quotes in the sequel, is largely concerned with δικαιοσύνη, they may be fairly quoted here, though they have other applications also.

- σθαι τὰ δίκαια—πίστις γὰρ ἀκοαῖς οὐκ ἔνεστιν—,
 [359] ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ <τὰ> πάντων ἄριστα | μα-
 θημάτων¹ <ἐν> τυποῦν καὶ ταῦτα χαράττοντα σφρα-
 138 γίσι δοκίμοις· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ μὴ μόνον
 ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα
 πράττειν ἀνυπερθέτως—ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ πράξεως σύμ-
 βολον, ἧς ἐξάπτειν καὶ ἐξαρτᾶν τὰ δίκαια προσ-
 τάττει, σημεῖον ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο φάσκων, καὶ τίνος
 ἀντικρυς οὐ διείρηκε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἑνός,² ὥς γέ μοι
 δοκεῖ, πολλῶν δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐν
 139 οἷς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος—. διὰ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου τὸ αἰεὶ
 καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιοῦσθαι τὰ δίκαια καθάπερ
 ἐγγὺς ὄντα ὀφθαλμῶν· σάλον δ' ἐχέτω ταῦτα
 κινούμενα, φησὶν, οὐχ ἵν' ἀβέβαια καὶ ἀνίδρυτα³
 <ἦ>, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ κινήσει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκκαλῇ πρὸς
 ἀρίδην θέαν· ὁράσεως γὰρ ἐπαγωγὸν κίνησις
 ἐξερεθίζουσα καὶ ἀνεγείρουσα μᾶλλον δ' ἀκοιμή-
 140 τούς καὶ ἐργηγορότας κατασκευάζουσα ὀφθαλμούς.
 ὅτῳ δ' ἐξεγένετο τυπώσασθαι ἐν⁴ τῷ
 τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμματι μὴ ἡσυχάζοντα ἀλλὰ κινούμενα
 καὶ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείαις χρώμενα, τέλειος
 ἀνὴρ ἀναγεγράφθω, μηκέτι ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ
 μαθηταῖς ἐξεταζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν διδασκάλοις καὶ
 ὑφηγηταῖς, καὶ παρεχέτω τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀρύεσθαι
 τῶν νέων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῶν λόγων καὶ δογ-
 μάτων ἄφθονον νᾶμα· καὶ τῶν ἀτολμοτέρων τις

¹ mss. ἀναθημάτων. In the words that follow καὶ ταῦτα is Cohn's correction for ταῦτα καὶ of S (καὶ omitted in M). I think of the four corrections made by Cohn in this sentence μαθημάτων and ἐν τυποῦν should stand, but thus corrected the text of M is satisfactory, i.e. ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ πάντων ἄριστα μαθημάτων ἐν τυποῦν ταῦτα, χαράττοντα κτλ.

² mss. μηδέος.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 137-140

untrustworthy ears since no trust can be placed in the sense of hearing but that these best of all lessons must be impressed upon our lordliest part, stamped too with genuine seals. The second 138 shows that we must not only receive conceptions of the good but express our approval of them in unhesitating action, for the hand is the symbol of action, and on this the law bids us fasten and hang the rules of justice for a sign. Of what it is a sign he has not definitely stated because, I believe, they are a sign not of one thing but of many, practically of all the factors in human life. The third means that 139 always and everywhere we must have the vision of them as it were close to our eyes. And they must have vibration and movement, it continues, not to make them unstable and unsettled, but that by their motion they may provoke the sight to gain a clear discernment of them. For motion induces the use of the faculty of sight by stimulating and arousing the eyes, or rather by making them un-sleepful and wakeful.

He to whom it is 140 given to set their image in the eye of the soul, not at rest but in motion and engaged in their natural activities, must be placed on record as a perfect man. No longer must he be ranked among the disciples and pupils but among the teachers and instructors, and he should provide as from a fountain to the young who are willing to draw therefrom a plenteous stream of discourses and doctrines. And

³ Mangey's text here, *σάλον δ' ἐχέτω ταῦτα κινούμενον, φησίν, οὐχ ἵν' ἀβέβαιον καὶ ἀνίδρυτον, ἀλλ' ἵνα κτλ.*, is with a few slight variations the text of the mss., but the neuter singulars are ungrammatical.

⁴ MSS. *μὲν*.

- ὑπ' αἰδοῦς μέλλῃ καὶ βραδύνῃ προσέρχεσθαι μαθη-
 σόμενος, αὐτὸς ἰὼν ἐπαντλείτω καὶ ἐποχετευέτω
 ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἀθρόας ὑφηγήσεις, ἄχρις ἂν αἱ δεξα-
 141 μεναὶ τῆς ψυχῆς γεμισθῶσι. προδιδασκέτω δὴ
 τὰ δίκαια συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πάντας νέους
 οἴκοι καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πρὸς κοίτην ἰόντας καὶ
 ἀνισταμένους, ἵν' ἐν πάσαις μὲν σχέσεσι καὶ
 κινήσειν, ἐν πᾶσι δὲ χωρίοις ἰδίους τε καὶ δημο-
 σίοις, μὴ μόνον ἐργηγορότες ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμώνενοι,
 φαντασίαις τῶν δικαίων ἐνευφραίνωνται· τέρψις
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδίων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅλην δι' ὅλων
 πεπληρῶσθαι δικαιοσύνης, ἐμμελετῶσαν αὐτῆς τοῖς
 αἰδίοις δόγμασι καὶ θεωρήμασιν, οὐκ ἔχουσιν
 142 ἔρημον τόπον, εἰς ὃν ἀδικία παρελεύσεται. κελεύει
 δὲ καὶ γράψαντας αὐτὰ πρόσθεν τῶν φλιῶν¹ οἰκίας
 ἐκάστης προτιθέσθαι καὶ πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν,
 ἵν' οἱ μὲν ἐκδημοῦντες καὶ ἐνδημοῦντες,² ἀστοὶ καὶ
 ξένοι, τοῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν γράμμασιν ἐστηλιτευ-
 μένοις ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄληκτον ἔχωσι τὴν τῶν
 λεκτέων καὶ πρακτέων μνήμην, ἐκατέρου φροντί-
 ζοντες τοῦ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰς δὲ
 τὰς οἰκίας εἰσιόντες καὶ πάλιν ἐξιόντες, ἄνδρες
 [360] ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα καὶ θεραπεία, | τὰ
 ἀρμόττοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα δρῶσιν³ ὑπὲρ τε
 ἄλλων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν.
- 143 XXVII. Θαυμασιώτατον δὲ καὶ κεῖνο διαγορεύει

¹ MSS. φιλῶν.

² Or should we read ἐπιδημοῦντες "returning home" corresponding to εἰσιόντες and ἐξιόντες below? It is when they pass in and out that they would see the inscriptions on the gate.

³ Perhaps, as Mangey suggests, ὁρῶσιν.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 140-143

if some less courageous spirit hesitates through modesty and is slow to come near to learn, that teacher should go himself and pour into his ears as into a conduit a continuous flood of instruction until the cisterns of the soul are filled. Indeed he 141 must be forward to teach the principles of justice to kinsfolk and friends and all the young people at home and in the street, both when they go to their beds and when they arise, so that in every posture and every motion, in every place both private and public, not only when they are awake but when they are asleep, they may be gladdened by visions of the just.^a For there is no sweeter delight than that the soul should be charged through and through with justice, exercising itself in her eternal principles and doctrines and leaving no vacant place into which injustice can make its way. He bids 142 them also write and set them forth in front of the door posts of each house and the gates in their walls,^b so that those who leave or remain at home, citizens and strangers alike, may read the inscriptions engraved on the face of the gates and keep in perpetual memory what they should say and do, careful alike to do and to allow no injustice, and when they enter their houses and again when they go forth men and women and children and servants alike may act as is due and fitting both for others and for themselves.

XXVII. Another most admirable injunction is 143

^a Deut. vi. 7 (xi. 19) "thou shalt teach them to thy sons, and shalt talk of them, sitting in the house, and walking in the way and lying down and rising up."

^b Deut. vi. 9 "And ye shall write them on the doorposts of your houses and your gates."

- τὸ μηδὲν προστιθέναι καὶ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ διαφυλάττειν ἀκίνητα τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀρισθέντα νόμιμα· συμβαίνει γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μὲν πρόσθεσιν τῶν ἀδίκων, <τὴν δ' ἀφαίρεσιν γίνεσθαι τῶν δικαίων>· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ παρα-
 144 λείπεται τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ πρὸς ὁλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς μετουσίαν δικαιοσύνης. αἰνίττεται μέν-
 τοι καὶ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ἀκρότητας· ἐκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνελλιπὴς ἐστὶ καὶ πλήρης, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο προσθήκη τις καὶ ἀφαίρεσις, ὅλην δι' ὅλων² τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετα-
 145 βάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἕξιν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἀρετὴν περὶ τὰ δεινὰ πραγματευομένην, ἴσασιν οἱ μὴ παντελῶς ἄμουσοι καὶ ἀχόρευτοι, καὶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας προσάψωνται, τῶν ὑπομενετέων οὖσαν ἐπιστήμην.
 146 ἀλλ' ἐάν τις εἷξας ἀμαθία τῇ δι' ἀλαζονείαν, ὡς δὴ περιττὸς καὶ ἰκανὸς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ἀνεπι-
 δεᾶ, προστιθέναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν τι τολμᾷ, σύμπασαν ἀλλάσσει τὴν εἰκόνα μετατυπώσας αἰσχροὺς ἀντὶ καλοῦ χαρακτήρος· ἀπεργάσεται γὰρ τῇ μὲν προσ-
 θέσει θρασύτητα, τῇ δ' ἀφαιρέσει³ δειλίαν, μηδ' ὄνομα τῆς βιωφελεστάτης ἀνδρείας καταλιπών.
 147 τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν τρόπον καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι

¹ Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, *καὶ*.

² MSS. ὅλου.

³ MSS. ἀφαιρήσει.

^a Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32 "ye shall not add to the word which I command you, and ye shall not take from it" (E.V. "diminish").

^b Or "finality."

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 143-147

that nothing should be added or taken away,^a but all the laws originally ordained should be kept unaltered just as they were. For what actually happens, as we clearly see, is that it is the unjust which is added and the just which is taken away, for the wise legislator has omitted nothing which can give possession of justice whole and complete. Further he suggests also that the summit of perfection^b has been reached in each of the other virtues. For each of them is defective in nothing, complete in its self-wrought consummateness, so that if there be any adding or taking away, its whole being is changed and transformed into the opposite condition.

^c Here is an example of what I mean. That courage, the virtue whose field of action is what causes terror, is the knowledge of what ought to be endured,^d is known to all who are not completely devoid of learning and culture, even if their contact with education has been but small. But if anyone, indulging the ignorance which comes from arrogance and believing himself to be a superior person capable of correcting what stands in no such need, ventures to add to or take from courage, he changes its likeness altogether and stamps upon it a form in which ugliness replaces beauty, for by adding he will make rashness and by taking away he will make cowardice, not leaving even the name of the courage so highly profitable to life.

In the same way too if one

^c The same point is made and illustrated by the same two virtues in *Quod Deus* 163.

^d The Stoic definition quoted more completely in *Leg. All.* i. 68 ἐπιστήμη ὑπομενέτων καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενέτων καὶ οὐδετέρων; see *S. V. F.* i. 262 ff.

- τῶν ἀρετῶν, εὐσεβεία, προσθῇ τις ὅτιοῦν μικρὸν
 ἢ μέγα ἢ τοῦναντίον ἀφέλῃ, καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐπαλ-
 λάξει καὶ μεταμορφώσῃ τὸ εἶδος· γεννήσῃ γὰρ ἡ
 μὲν πρόσθεσις δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἡ δ' ἀφαίρεσις
 ἀσέβειαν, ἀφανισθείσης αὖ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἣν
 ἀνίσχειν καὶ ἐπιλάμπειν εὐκταῖον ἀγαθόν, ἐπειδὴ
 τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία καθέστηκεν, ἐπι-
 στήμην ἐμποιοῦσα θεραπείας θεοῦ, ἣν πάσης
 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀρχικωτέραν καὶ βασιλικω-
 148 τέραν εἶναι νομιστέον. παραπλήσια δὲ τοῖς εἰρη-
 μένοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐκάστης ἔστι
 λέγειν· ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνειν εἰωθὼς τὰ μήκη τῶν
 λόγων ἀρκεσθήσομαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἃ καὶ τῶν
 ἡσυχάζομένων ἱκανὰ μηνύματα γένοιτ' ἂν.
- 149 XXVIII. Ἐτι καὶ τοῦτο προσδιατέτακται κοινω-
 φελὲς παράγγελμα, “μὴ μετακινεῖν ὅρια τοῦ
 πλησίον, ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ πρότεροί σου.” τοῦτο δ',
 ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ περὶ κλήρων αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ γῆς
 ὅρων νομοθετεῖται πρὸς πλεονεξίας ἀποκοπὴν,
 [361] ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς | φυλακὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθνῶν· ἔθνη
 γὰρ ἄγραφοι νόμοι, δόγματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ
 στήλαις ἐγκεχαραγμένα καὶ χαρτιδίοις ὑπὸ σιγῶν
 ἀναλίσκομένοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχαῖς τῶν μετεिल्φόντων
 150 τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας. ὀφείλουσι γὰρ παῖδες παρὰ
 γονέων <δίχα> τῶν οὐσιῶν κληρονομεῖν ἔθνη πάτρια,
 οἷς ἐνετράφησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σπαργάνων συν-
 εβίωσαν, καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, παρόσον ἄγραφος
 αὐτῶν ἡ παράδοσις· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγραφείοις
 νόμοις πειθαρχῶν οὐκ ἂν δεόντως ἐπαινοῖτο,

^a Deut. xix. 14. It is difficult to see why this passage is introduced here. The text is clearly quoted not for its literal meaning, but for its application to the customs which are

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 147-150

adds anything small or great to the queen of virtues piety or on the other hand takes something from it, in either case he will change and transform its nature. Addition will beget superstition and subtraction will beget impiety, and so piety too is lost to sight, that sun whose rising and shining is a blessing we may well pray for, because it is the source of the greatest of blessings, since it gives the knowledge of the service of God, which we must hold as lordlier than any lordship, more royal than any sovereignty. Much the same may be said 148 of the other virtues, but as it is my habit to avoid lengthy discussions by abridgement I will content myself with the aforesaid examples which will sufficiently indicate what is left unsaid.

XXVIII. Another commandment of general value 149 is "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmarks which thy forerunners have set up."^a Now this law, we may consider, applies not merely to allotments and boundaries of land in order to eliminate covetousness but also to the safeguarding of ancient customs. For customs are unwritten laws, the decisions approved by men of old, not inscribed on monuments nor on leaves of paper which the moth destroys, but on the souls of those who are partners in the same citizenship. For 150 children ought to inherit from their parents, besides their property, ancestral customs which they were reared in and have lived with even from the cradle, and not despise them because they have been handed down without written record. Praise cannot be duly given to one who obeys the written unwritten laws. But the laws which have been and are still to be discussed are not unwritten.

νουθετούμενος ἀνάγκη καὶ φόβῳ κολάσεως, ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀγράφοις ἐμμένων, ἐκούσιον ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐγκωμίων ἄξιος.

- 151 XXIX. ¹ Ἐνιοι τὰς κληρωτὰς εἰσηγήσαντο ἀρχάς, ἄλυσυτελῶς τοῖς πλήθεσιν· εὐτυχίαν γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρετὴν ὁ κλῆρος ἐμφαίνει. πολλοὶ γοῦν πολλάκις τῶν ἀναξίων ἔλαχον, οὓς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λαβόμενος ἡγεμονίας ἀποδοκιμάσαι ἂν καὶ ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἐξετά-
 152 ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μικροὶ λεγόμενοι παρά τισιν ἄρχοντες, οὓς δεσπότης ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐ πάντας ὅσους ἂν οἰοί τε ὦσιν οἰκότριβας ἢ ἀργυρωνήτους ὑπάγονται, μόνους δὲ τοὺς καταπειθεῖς γινομένους, ἀγεληδὸν ἔστιν ὅτε πιπράσκοντες τοὺς ἀνιάτως ἔχοντας τὸ ἦθος ὡς καὶ δουλεύειν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν
 153 ἀναξίους ὄντας. ἔτι τοίνυν² προσήκει δεσπότης καὶ ἡγεμόνας ὄλων πόλεων καὶ ἔθνων ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς κλῆρῳ λαχόντας, ὀλίσθω τινὶ τύχης, ἀβεβαίου καὶ ἀνιδρύτου πράγματος; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν καμνόντων ἐπιμέλειαν κλῆρος τὸ μηδέν· ἰατροὶ γὰρ οὐ κλῆρῳ λαγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πείρᾳ δοκιμάζονται.
 154 καὶ πρὸς εὐπλοίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν θαλαττευόντων οὐχ ὁ λαχὼν κυβερνᾶν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πρύμναν παραπέμπεται, δι' ἀνεπιστημοσύνης ἐργασόμενος ἐν εὐδία καὶ γαλήνῃ χειροποίητα ναυάγια, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὴν κυβερνητικὴν τέχνην ἐπι-

¹ Here the mss. have the heading Κατάστασις ἀρχόντων ("De constitutione principum"). The title is not only unnecessary but misleading. As no further heading is given it may be supposed to cover the rest of the treatise, but the appointment of the ruler only occupies the sections down to § 159, and his character and duties only to § 192. Cohn however begins here a fresh numeration of chapters.

² MSS. ἔτι νῦν οἱ οὐ τοίνυν.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 150-154

laws, since he acts under the admonition of restraint and the fear of punishment. But he who faithfully observes the unwritten deserves commendation, since the virtue which he displays is freely willed.^a

XXIX. Some legislators have introduced the 151 system of filling magistracies by lot, to the detriment of their peoples, for the lot shows good luck, not merit. In fact the lot often falls to many of the unworthy whom a good man, if he obtained command, would reject as unfit to be classed even among his subjects. For those "minor rulers," as 152 some phrase it, whom we call "masters" do not retain in their service all they might whether homebred or purchased, but only those who prove amenable: the incorrigible they sometimes sell in a mass as unworthy to be slaves of men of merit. And can 153 it then be right to make masters and rulers of whole cities and nations out of persons chosen by lot, by what we may call a blunder of fortune,^b the uncertain and unstable? In the matter of tending the sick lot has no place, for physicians do not gain their posts by lot, but are approved by the test of experience. And to secure a successful voyage and the safety of 154 travellers on the sea we do not choose by lot and send straight away to the helm a steersman who through his ignorance will produce in fine weather and calm water shipwrecks in which Nature has no part.^c Instead we send one whom we know to have

^a See App. p. 435.

^b Or perhaps better "a random act of fortune." Fortune's steps are uncertain, but not always blunders. "Freak" might perhaps cover the meaning. Cf. ii. 231 (of the same subject).

^c Or "home-made," "man-made."

μελῶς φαίνεται δεδιδαγμένος· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ
πολλάκις μὲν πεπλευκώς, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα ἢ
πλείστα πελάγη περαιωσάμενος, ἐμπόρια δὲ καὶ
λιμένας καὶ ὑφόρμους καὶ ὑποδρόμους τοὺς ἐν τε
[362] νήσοις καὶ ἡπείροις | ἐπιμελῶς ἐξήτακώς καὶ μάλ-
λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν κατὰ γῆν ὁδῶν τὰς κατὰ
θάλατταν ἀτραποὺς ἐπιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς
155 θέας τῶν οὐρανίων· παρατηρήσας γὰρ τὰς χορείας
τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἐπακολουθήσας αὐτῶν ταῖς τε-
ταγμέναις κινήσεσιν ἐν ἀνοδίαις ἴσχυσεν ἀπλανεῖς
καὶ λεωφόρους ὁδοὺς ἀνατεμεῖν, ἵνα—τὸ πάντων
ἀπιστότατον πραγμάτων—ἡ χερσαία φύσις διὰ
156 πλωτῆς οἶα τε ἦ περαιούσθαι. πόλεις δέ τις με-
γάλας καὶ πολυανθρώπους, μεστὰς οἰκητόρων, καὶ
πολιτείας ἐγχειρίζεσθαι μέλλων καὶ πραγμάτων
ιδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν,
ἣν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τέχνην τεχνῶν εἶναι
καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, πρὸς ἄστατον κλήρου
φορὰν ταλαντεύσει τὴν ἀκριβῆ βάσανον τῆς ἀλη-
θείας φυγών; ἀληθείας δὲ βάσανος αἱ σὺν λόγῳ
157 πίστεις. XXX. ταῦτ' οὖν τῇ ψυχῇ θεασάμενος ὁ
πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς κληρωτῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ μέ-
μνηται, τὰς δὲ χειροτονητὰς εἰσηγείσθαι διανοήθη.
φησὶ γοῦν· καταστήσεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν ἄρχοντα οὐκ
ἀλλότριον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἀδελφῶν, δηλῶν
ἐθελοῦσιον αἵρεσιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν ἀνεπὶληπτον
ἄρχοντος, ἣν σύμπασα ἢ πληθὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦσα
ποιήσῃ. προσεπιψηφιεῖται δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπι-

^a ἵνα, as often in Philo, is consecutive.

^b Lit. "the land-nature is able to pass through navigable nature." See *Spec. Leg.* i. 335 and note.

^c Deut. xvii. 15 "thou shalt surely set over thyself a ruler,

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 154-157

been carefully trained from his earliest years in the art of steersmanship. Such a one will have made many a voyage, crossed all or most seas, carefully studied the trading ports, harbours and anchorages and roadsteads, both in the islands and the mainland, and know the sea routes as well as, if not better than, the roads on land, through accurately watching the heavenly bodies. For by observing the courses of 155 the stars and following their ordered movements he has been able to open up in the pathless waste high-roads where none can err, with this incredible result,^a that the creature whose element is land can float his way through the element of water.^b And shall one 156 who is to have in his hands great and populous cities with all their inhabitants, and the constitutions of the cities and the management of matters private, public and sacred, a task which we might well call an art of arts and a science of sciences, be the sport of the unstable oscillation of the lot and escape the strict test of truth, which can only be tested by proofs founded on reason? XXX. These things Moses, 157 wise here as ever, considered in his soul and does not even mention appointment of rulers by lot, but determines to institute appointment by election. Thus he says "thou shalt establish a ruler over thyself, not a foreigner but from thy brethren," hereby indicating that there should be a free choice and an unimpeachable scrutiny of the ruler made by the whole people with the same mind.^c And the choice will receive the further vote and seal of ratification

whomsoever the Lord thy God shall choose. From thy brethren thou shalt set a ruler over thyself. Thou shalt not be able to set over thyself a man that is a stranger, because he is not thy brother."

σφραγιζόμενος καὶ ὁ τῶν κοινωφελῶν ἀπάντων
βεβαιωτῆς θεός, ἐκλογὴν τινὰ τοῦ γένους ὑπολαβὼν
εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον¹ ὡς ὅψιν ἐν σώματι.

158 XXXI. τὰς δ' αἰτίας τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλότριον αἰρεῖ-
σθαι πρὸς ἀρχὴν διττὰς ὑπογράφει, τὴν μὲν ἵνα μὴ
πλήθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου καὶ θρεμμάτων συν-
αγάγῃ πολὺν πλοῦτον καὶ πάντα ἄδικον ἐκ τῆς
πενίας τῶν ὑπηκόων θησαυρισάμενος, τὴν δ' ἵνα μὴ
τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας ἀναστήσας ἔνεκα
τῶν ἰδίων πλεονεξιῶν ἀναγκάξῃ μετανίστασθαι
(κατὰ)² πλάνον ἀνήνυτον ὧδε κἀκεῖσε φορούμενον,
ὑποβαλὼν ἀτελεῖς ἐλπίδας μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν κτή-
σεως, εἰς ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἤδη βεβαίως ἐκαρποῦτο.

159 προϋπέλαβε γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τὸν ὁμόφυλον καὶ συγ-
γενῇ μετέχοντα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ συγγένειαν
οἰκειότητος—ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτῳ συγγένειά ἐστι πολιτεία
μία καὶ νόμος ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἷς θεός, ᾧ πάντες οἱ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους προσκεκλήρωνται,—μηδέποτε τὰ
παραπλήσια τοῖς προλεχθεῖσι διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔμ-
παλιν ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μεθορμίζειν τοὺς οἰκήτορας καὶ

¹ Cohn suggested *αἰρεθέντα*, which Heinemann translates.
See note *a*.

² A doubtful insertion. *πλάνον* may be cogn. acc.

^a The words are obscure. If the text is right, the meaning may be that the choice of one particular man shows him to be the “eye of the body,” and that God accepts this and confirms it. Philo is clearly trying to reconcile the free choice which he thinks is implied in the words “thou shalt set” with the limitation “whomsoever the Lord thy God shall choose.” But no authority is quoted for the use of *ἐκλογή* = “the chosen,” nor yet for “the choicest” or the “pick,” which Cohn’s correction of *ἄνθρωπον* to *αἰρεθέντα* demands.

^b Deut. xvii. 16, 17. E.V. “only he shall not multiply

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 157-159

from Him who confirms all things that promote the common weal, even God who holds that the man may be called the chosen from the race, in which he is what the eye is in the body.^a XXXI. The 158

reasons subjoined to show why a foreigner should not be selected are two. First to prevent him from amassing a great quantity of gold and silver and cattle and storing up great wealth all unjustly wrung from the poverty of his subjects.^b Secondly that he should not to gratify his own greedy desires evict the natives from the land and compel them to emigrate borne hither and thither in endless wandering, or by inspiring in them futile hopes of increased prosperity succeed in taking from them what ere now they enjoyed in security.^c For he assumed with good 159 reason that one who was their fellow-tribesman and fellow-kinsman related to them by the tie which brings the highest kinship, the kinship of having one citizenship and the same law and one God who has taken all members of the nation for His portion, would never sin in the way just mentioned. He knew that such a one on the contrary, instead of

horses to himself . . . neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold." This is not a reason for not choosing a foreigner, but conditions to be observed by the native king. The LXX however has "because he shall not multiply," etc., and this Philo follows.

^c Deut. xvii. 17 (2nd half) "he shall not turn away (E.V. cause to return) the people to Egypt, that he may not multiply horses to himself." According to the commentators the meaning is that he should not seek alliance with Egypt and so procure a strong force of horses. Philo, perhaps thinking of Egypt as the natural refuge of the exiles from Palestine, takes it to mean expatriation in general, which the foreign king would practise in order to confiscate the people's wealth. The passage is allegorized in *De Agr.* 84 ff. See App. p. 435.

τοῖς ἐν τῇ ξένῃ σποράσιν ἀσφαλῆ κάθοδον παρέξειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι χρήματα προσεπιδώσειν τοῖς δεομένοις τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἀποφύγαντα κοινήν.

- 160 XXXII. | 'Αφ' ἧς δ' ἂν ἡμέρας παρέλθῃ τις ἐπὶ
 [363] τὴν ἀρχήν, κελεύει τὴν Ἐπινομίδα αὐτοχειρίᾳ γράψαι κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχουσιν ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων, βουλόμενος ἔγκολλα τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ διαταγμένα γενέσθαι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὑπορρεῖ τὰ νοήματα τῇ φορᾷ παρασυρόμενα, τῷ δὲ γράφοντι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ ἐνιδρύεται, τῆς διανοίας ἐνευκαιρούσης ἐκάστω καὶ ἐπεριδούσης ἑαυτὴν καὶ μὴ μετιούσης ἐφ' ἕτερον, πρὶν
 161 ἢ περιδράξασθαι τοῦ προτέρου βεβαίως. ὅταν μέντοι γράψῃ, πειράσθω καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, ὑπὲρ τε συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδιαστάτου μνήμης καλῶν καὶ συμφερόντων ἅπασιν διαταγμάτων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βέβαιον ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον αὐτῶν ἐγγενέσθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς αἰὲν διδασκομένης καὶ ἐξεθιζομένης ἐνομιλεῖν νόμοις ἱεροῖς· αἱ γὰρ μακροχρόνιοι συνήθειαι φιλίαν ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἰδέας ἀξιεράστους γραμμάτων ἀποτελοῦσι.
 162 τουτὶ δὲ συμβήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἑτέρου γράμμασι καὶ ὑπομνήμασιν ὁ ἄρχων ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἐντυγχάνῃ· τὰ γὰρ ἰδιά πῶς ἐκάστοις γνωριμώτερα
 163 καὶ πρὸς ἀναλήψεις ἐτοιμώτερα. καὶ ἄλλως ἀνα-

^a Deut. xvii. 18-20. For "sequel" perhaps "appendix." E.V. "he shall write him a copy of this book" (more liter-

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 159-162

sending the inhabitants adrift, would provide a safe return for those who are scattered on foreign soil, and instead of taking the wealth of others would give liberally to the needy by making his private substance common to all.

XXXII. From the day that he enters upon his office the lawgiver bids him write out with his own hand this sequel to the laws which embraces them all in the form of a summary.^a He wishes hereby to have the ordinance cemented to the soul. For the thoughts swept away by the current ebb away from the mere reader, but are implanted and set fast in one who writes them out at leisure. For the mind can dwell at its ease on each point and fix itself upon it, and does not pass on to something else until it has securely grasped what goes before. Still after writing he must endeavour every day to read and familiarize himself with what he has written,^b so that he may have a constant and unbroken memory of ordinances so good and profitable to all, and thus conceive an unswerving love and yearning for them by perpetually training and habituating his soul to companionship with holy laws. For prolonged associations produce a pure and sincere affection not only for men but for ^c writings of such kinds as are worthy of our love. And this will be the case if the ruler studies not the writings and notes of another but the work of his own pen, for everyone is more familiar with his own writing and takes in its meaning more readily. ally "duplicate," Adam Smith). The LXX has *δευτερονόμιον* ("repetition of the law"), whence the accepted name. On *Ἐπινομήδα* see also App. p. 436.

^b *Ibid.* "he shall read in it all the days of his life."

^c Heinemann translates "thoughts worthy of affection transmitted in writing"; but *ιδέας* cannot mean "thoughts."

- γινώσκων ἅμα λογισμὸν ἔξει τοιοῦτον· “ ἐγὼ ταυτ’
 ἔγραψα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄρχων, μὴ ἐτέρῳ προσχρησά-
 μενος ὑπηρετῶν¹ μυρίων ὄντων· ἄρ’ ὅπως βιβλίον
 ἀποπληρώσω, καθάπερ οἱ μισθοῦ γράφοντες ἢ οἱ
 γυμνάζοντες ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ χεῖρας, τοὺς μὲν εἰς
 ὀξύωπιαν, τὰς δ’ ἵνα ὦσιν ὀξυγράφοι;—πόθεν; οὐκ
 ἔστιν—ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ γράφων εὐθὺς εἰς
 τὴν ψυχὴν μεταγράφω καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ δια-
 164 νοίᾳ θειοτέρους καὶ ἀνεκπλύτους χαρακτῆρας. οἱ
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς βακτηρίας ἔχοντες σκηπ-
 τροφοροῦσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σκῆπτρόν ἐστιν ἡ βίβλος
 τῆς Ἐπινομίδος, καύχημα καὶ κλέος ἀνανταγώ-
 νιστον, παράσημον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπιλήπτου πρὸς
 ἀρχέτυπον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείαν ἀπεικονισθείσης.
 165 αἰεὶ δ’ ἐπερειδόμενος καὶ σκηριπτό-
 μενος τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις κτήσομαι δύο τὰ πάντων
 ἄριστα· ἐν μὲν ἰσότητι, ἧς μείζον ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν
 εὑρεῖν· ἀλαζονεία γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὑπέραυχον ὀλιγό-
 166 φρονος ψυχῆς τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένης. ἰσότης
 μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
 ἀμοιβὰς δικαίας ἀντεκτινόντων ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δ’
 ἄνισον κινδύνους σφαλερωτάτους. τούτους μὲν
 ἀποδράσομαι μισήσας τὴν χορηγὸν σκότους καὶ
 πολέμων ἀνισότητα, βίον δ’ ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔξω
 τὴν ἀστασίαστον ἰσότητα τιμήσας, ἣ γεννᾷ φῶς καὶ
 167 εὐστάθειαν. ἕτερον δὲ περιποιήσομαι τὸ

¹ MSS. ὑπηρέτη et al.

^a The seven sections which follow are a meditation on Deut. xvii. 19, 20, the first part of which is put into the king or ruler’s mouth.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 163-167

Further when he reads he will reason thus with himself. ^a "I have written these words, I, a ruler of such eminence, without employing another though I have a host of servants. Have I done it to fill the pages of a book like those who write for hire or to train their eyes and hands, the first to sharpen the sight, the second to make themselves swift writers? No, surely not. I write them in a book in order to re-write them straightway in my soul, and receive in my mind the imprints of a script more divine and ineffaceable. Now other kings carry rods in their hands as sceptres but my sceptre is the book of the Sequel to the law, my pride and my glory, which nothing can rival, an ensign of sovereignty which none can impeach, formed in the image of its archetype the kingship of God.

^b And if I ever keep the holy laws for my staff and support I shall win two things better than all else. ^c One is the spirit of equality, and no greater good can be found than this, for arrogance and insolence belong to a soul of mean capacity which does not foresee the future. Equality will earn its just reward, repaid in the goodwill and safety of my subjects, while inequality will create the gravest perils and pitfalls. These I shall escape if I hate inequality, the bestower of darkness and wars, while I shall have a life proof against the malice of enemies if I honour equality who eschews sedition and is the mother of light and settled order.

^d The other thing that I shall win is that

^b Verse 19 "to keep all the words of this law and the statutes."

^c Verse 20 "that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren."

^d *Ibid.* "that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left."

- [364] | μὴ ἐπὶ θάτερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀντιρρέπειν
ἐκτρέπων καὶ πλαγιάζων τὰ διατεταγμένα· πειρά-
σομαι δ' ἄγειν αὐτὰ διὰ λεωφόρου τῆς μέσης ὀρθαῖς
καὶ ἀρτίαις βάσεισι χρησάμενος πρὸς μετουσίαν
168 ἀπταίστου βίου." βασιλικὴν δ' εἴωθε Μωυσῆς
ὀνομάζειν ὁδὸν τὴν μέσσην, ὑπερβολῆς καὶ ἐλλείψεως
οὐσαν μεθόριον, καὶ ἄλλως ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέσον ἐν
τριάδι τὴν ἡγεμονίδα τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἀρμοζόμενον
τὰ παρ' ἑκάτερα εἰς ἔνωσιν ἀδιαλύτῳ δεσμῷ, ὕφ'
169 ὧν καὶ δορυφορεῖται τρόπον βασιλέως. νομίμου δ'
ἄρχοντος ἰσότητα τιμῶντος, ἀδεκάστου, τὰ δίκαια
κρίνοντος δικαίως, ἐμμελετῶντος αἰεὶ τοῖς νόμοις,
ἀθλον εἶναί φησι τὴν μακροχρόνιον ἡγεμονίαν, οὐχ
ἵνα πολυετῇ ζωῇ αὐτῷ χαρίσῃται μετὰ τοῦ τὰ
κοινὰ πρυτανεύειν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀναδιδάξῃ τοὺς ἀγνο-
οῦντας, ὅτι ὁ νόμιμος ἄρχων, κἄν τελευτήσῃ, βίον
ζῇ μακραίωνα διὰ τῶν πράξεων, ὥς ἀθανάτους
ἀπολέλοιπε μνημεῖα καλοκάγαθίας ἀκαθαίρετα.
- 170 XXXIII. Προσῆκει δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ
μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιωθέντι αἰρεῖσθαι διαδόχους, οἱ
συνάροξοι καὶ συνδικάσουσι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κοινω-

^a In this section Philo digresses to bring his text into connexion with Num. xx. 17 (cf. xxi. 22) "We will go along the king's high way (LXX ὁδὸς βασιλική), we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left," on which he has commented elsewhere, particularly in *Quod Deus* 162 ff. Here the stress is laid on the phrase "royal road," and the inference drawn, as I understand it, is that Moses in giving this name to the central road between (as he says in *Quod Deus*) deficiency and excess suggests that it is the fitting road for a king. While hitherto he has chiefly followed the LXX in using ἄρχων, not βασιλεύς, he here shows his perception that a king is intended (cf. § 164).

^b *Ibid.* "that he may prolong his days in his rule." For

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 167-170

I shall not sway to either side as on a balance, deflecting the ordinances and turning them awry, but I shall try to take them along the central highway marching with firm straightforward steps to ensure a life that never stumbles." ^a Now the name of "royal" 168 which Moses is wont to give to the central road which lies midway between excess and deficiency, is also given because in a set of three the midmost holds the leading place, joining in union with itself by an indissoluble bond those on either side of it, which also serve as bodyguards to it as to a king. ^b A law- 169 abiding ruler who honours equality, who is impervious ^c to bribes and gives just judgements justly and ever exercises himself in the laws has, he tells us, for his reward that the days of his government shall be long, not meaning that he grants him long years of life spent in presiding over the State, but to teach the ignorant that the law-abiding ruler, even when deceased, lives an age-long life through the actions which he leaves behind him never to die, monuments of high excellence which can never be destroyed.

XXXIII. ^d The person who has been judged worthy 170 to fill the highest and most important office should choose lieutenants to share with him the duties of governing, giving judgement, and managing all the

the spiritual interpretation of the boon of long life promised in the scriptures compare the treatment of the fifth commandment in ii. 262, and *Quis Rerum* 290, that the goodly old age promised to Abraham is not the life of long duration, but the life of wisdom.

^e For "impervious to bribes" *cf.* the qualities of the judge, §§ 62 f., and for "gives just judgements justly" §§ 66 f.

^d For what follows Philo has no direct pronouncements in the law, but takes the story of Jethro's advice to Moses in Ex. xviii. described below.

PHILO

- φελῇ συνδιοικήσουσιν. εἰς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρκέσαι, καὶ προθυμότητος ἢ καὶ πάντων ἐρρωμενέστατος ἐκάτερον, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπειρηκῶς τῇ φορᾷ τῶν ἐπιχειρομένων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς συλληψομένους ἔχοι, πάντας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγεμένους φρονήσει, δυνάμει, δικαιοσύνῃ, θεοσεβείᾳ, τῷ μὴ ἐκτρέπεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν ὡς ἐχθρὸν καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν
- 171 ἀλαζονείαν. βοηθοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ παραστάται γένοιντ' ἂν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπηχθισμένῳ συνεπικουφίζειν καὶ ἐπελαφρίζειν ἐπιτηδειότατοι. καὶ ἄλλως, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑποθέσεων αἱ μὲν εἰσι μείζους, αἱ δὲ βραχύτεραι, τὰς μὲν ἐλάττους, ἵνα μὴ περὶ μικρὰ τρίβηται, τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐνδίκως ἂν ἐπιτρέψαι, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἀναγκαίως αὐτὸς
- 172 ἂν γένοιτο ἐξεταστής ἀκριβέστατος. μεγάλας δ' ὑποληπτέον ὑποθέσεις οὐχ ἅς οἴονταί τινες, ὅταν ἔνδοξοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους διαφέρωνται καὶ πλούσιοι πρὸς πλουσίους καὶ ἡγεμόνες πρὸς ἡγεμόνας, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ὅταν ἰδιῶται καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄδοξοι πρὸς δυνατωτέρους, οἷς πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν μία ἐλπίς ὁ δικαστής.
- 173 Ἐκατέρου δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων σαφῇ παραδείγματα εὐρεῖν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις, ἃ μιμεῖσθαι καλόν. ἦν γὰρ ποτε χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐβράβευε τὰ περὶ δίκας Μωυσῆς ἔωθεν εἰς νύκτα
- [365] πονοῦμενος· ἀλλ' | αὐθις ἀφικόμενος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ

^a See Ex. xviii. 21. E.V. "Able men (LXX δυνατοὺς), such

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 170-173

other matters which concern the public welfare. For a single person even though possessed of unique strength both in body and soul would not be capable of coping with the magnitude and multitude of affairs, be he ever so zealous, but would collapse under their force as they pour in upon him daily from different sides, unless he had helpers all of the best chosen for their good sense, ability, justice and godliness, and because they not only keep clear of arrogance but hate it as a thing pernicious and utterly evil. ^a In such persons the man of high excellence 171 burdened with state affairs will find assistants and supporters well fitted to join in relieving him and to lighten his task. Further, since the questions which arise are sometimes greater and sometimes less, to prevent his wearing himself out in petty matters he will do rightly in entrusting the smaller to his subordinates, while the greater he will be bound to scrutinize himself with the utmost care. And great 172 questions must not be understood, as some think, to mean cases where both the disputants are distinguished or rich or men in high office but rather where the commoner or the poor or the obscure are disputing with others more powerful, and where their one hope of escaping a fatal disaster lies in the judge.

Both these statements may be justified by clear 173 examples to be found in the sacred laws, examples which we do well to copy. For there was a time when Moses himself arbitrated questions of justice, labouring from morning till night, but afterwards when his father-in-law arrived and observed the vast

as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain" (LXX ὑπερηφανίαν = "arrogance").

- συνιδὼν ὅσω βάρει πιέζεται πραγμάτων, ἐπισυρ-
 ρεόντων αἰὲ τῶν τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐχόντων,
 ἄριστα συνεβούλευσεν ἐλῆσθαι διαδόχους, ἵν' οἱ μὲν
 τὰ βραχύτερα κρίνωσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφεδρεύῃ τοῖς
 174 μείζουσι καιροῖς εἰς ἀνάπαυλαν αὐτῷ διδούς. πει-
 σθεῖς δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις—καὶ γὰρ ἦν συμφέροντα—
 τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐλό-
 μενος ὑπάρχους ἅμα καὶ δικαστὰς καθίστησι,
 κελεύσας τὰς μείζους κρίσεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνάγειν.
 175 ταύτην τὴν πράξιν¹ ἀνάγραπτον αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι
 περιέχουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν
 ἀρχόντων διδασκαλίαν, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν μὴ
 ἀποδοκιμάζωσι συμβούλους ὡς ἱκανοὶ πάντα περι-
 αθρεῖν, Μωυσέως οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάσαντος τοῦ παν-
 σόφου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, ἔπειτα δὲ ἵνα δευτέρους καὶ
 τρίτους ἡγεμόνας αἰρῶνται, φροντίζοντες τοῦ μὴ
 περὶ μικρὰ τριβόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων ἀμελεῖν.
 ἀμύχανον γὰρ ἐφ' ἅπαντα φθάνειν φύσιν ἀνθρω-
 176 πίνην. XXXIV. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῶν παρα-
 δειγμάτων μεμήνυται· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου τὴν πίστιν
 ἐφαρμοστέον. μεγάλας ἔφην εἶναι δίκας τὰς τῶν
 ταπεινοτέρων· ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ ταπεινὸν χήρα καὶ
 ὀρφανὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πλῆτος· τούτοις χρή δικάζειν τὸν
 ἀνωτάτω βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἀναψάμενον²
 ἀρχήν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ Μωυσέα καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμὼν
 θεὸς οὐκ ἐσκοράκισεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ δι-
 177 καιονομίας. ὑμνήσας γὰρ τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετὰς ὁ
 ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας

¹ So M. Other mss. κρίσιν or τάξιν. Cohn prints πρόσταξιν, but Jethro's advice could hardly be called this, and the point is not what he advised, but what Moses did.

² Mss. ἐφαιψάμενον or ἐναψάμενον (-ην).

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 173-177

burden of affairs which oppressed him through the perpetual flood of persons who had questions to settle, he gave the excellent advice that Moses should choose delegates to judge the smaller matters and keep himself in reserve for the greater and thus allow himself time to rest. Moses listened to 174 this truly valuable advice and chose out of the multitude the men of highest repute whom he appointed as subordinate governors and also as judges, bidding them refer the more important suits to himself. A record of the course thus 175 taken is included in the sacred books as a lesson to each generation of rulers, first that they should not, under the impression that they are capable of surveying everything, reject the help of councillors which Moses the supremely wise and beloved of God did not reject; next that they should choose officers to act as second and third to themselves and so take care that they did not by wearing themselves out over petty matters neglect the more vital. For human nature cannot possibly reach everything.

XXXIV. I have 176 stated one of the two examples and must add the evidence for the second. I said that the great cases were those of the lowlier. Lowliness and weakness are attributes of the widow, the orphan and the incomer. It is to these that the supreme king who is invested with the government of all should administer justice, because according to Moses God also the ruler of the Universe has not spurned them from His jurisdiction. For when 177 the Revealer has hymned the excellences of the Self-existent in this manner^a "God the great and

^a Deut. x. 17, 18.

- καὶ κραταιός, ὅστις οὐ θαυμάζει πρόσωπον οὐδὲ μὴ
 λάβῃ δῶρον ποιῶν κρίσιν," ἐπιλέγει τίσιν ἢ κρί-
 σις.¹ οὐ σατράπαις καὶ τυράννοις καὶ γῆς καὶ
 θαλάττης ἀναψαμένοις τὸ κράτος, ἀλλ' " ἐπηλύτω
 178 καὶ ὀρφανῷ καὶ χήρᾳ". τῷ μὲν ὅτι τοὺς
 συγγενεῖς, οὓς μόνους εἰκὸς ἔχειν συναγωνιστάς,
 ἐχθροὺς ἀσυμβάτους εἰργάσατο ἑαυτῷ μεταναστὰς
 εἰς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς τιμίου τιμὴν ἀπὸ
 μυθικῶν πλασμάτων καὶ πολυαρχίας, ἃ γονεῖς καὶ
 πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος
 τοῦ στειλαμένου τὴν καλὴν ἀποικίαν ταύτην ἐξετί-
 μησαν· τῷ δ' ἐπειδὴ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς
 τῶν ἐκ φύσεως βοηθῶν καὶ ὑπερμάχων ἐστέρηται
 δυνάμει τῆς μόνης εἰς συμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίας
 ἐρημωθείς· τῇ δ' ὅτι τὸν διαδεξάμενον ἄνδρα τὴν
 τῶν γονέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀφήρηται·
 γυναικὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς κηδεμονίαν ὅπερ² γονεῖς
 179 παρθένῳ. σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν
 Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὀρφανοῦ λόγον ἔχει συγκρινόμενον
 τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ πᾶσι· τὰ μὲν γάρ, ὅποτε μὴ θεή-
 [366] λατοι κατασκήπτοιεν συμφοραί, διὰ | τὰς ἐν τοῖς
 ἔθνεσιν ἐπιμιξίας οὐκ ἀπορεῖ βοηθῶν κοινοπρα-
 γούντων,³ τῷ δ' ἡκιστα τις συναγωνίζεται νόμοις
 ἐξαιρέτοις χρωμένῳ· σεμνοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης,

¹ Printed by Cohn ἐπιλέγει—τίσιν ἢ κρίσις ;

² Cohn corrects to ὥσπερ. This seems to me not only unnecessary but to involve a difficult construction, viz. that εἰς κηδεμονίαν is used like the Latin predicative dative "vir custodiae est mulieri" = "custos mulieris." Cohn may perhaps have thought that τοῦτο would be supplied before ὅπερ as in § 186.

³ MSS. κοινοπραγούντα.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 177-179

powerful, who has no respect to persons, will receive no gifts and executes judgement," he proceeds to say for whom the judgement is executed—not for satraps and despots and men invested with power by land and sea, but for the "incomer,^a for orphan and widow."

For the incomer, 178 because he has turned his kinsfolk, who in the ordinary course of things would be his sole confederates, into mortal enemies, by coming as a pilgrim to truth and the honouring of One who alone is worthy of honour, and by leaving the mythical fables and multiplicity of sovereigns, so highly honoured by the parents and grand-parents and ancestors and blood relations of this immigrant to a better home.

For the orphan, because he has been bereft of his father and mother his natural helpers and champions, deserted by the sole force which was bound to take up his cause. For the widow because she has been deprived of her husband who took over from the parents the charge of guarding and watching over her, since for the purpose of giving protection the husband is to the wife what the parents are to the maiden.

One may say that the whole Jewish race is in the 179 position of an orphan compared with all the nations on every side. They when misfortunes fall upon them which are not by the direct intervention of heaven are never, owing to international intercourse, unprovided with helpers who join sides with them. But the Jewish nation has none to take its part, as it lives under exceptional laws which are necessarily grave and severe, because they inculcate the highest

^a E.V. "stranger." LXX προσηλύτω. Philo, as regularly elsewhere, assumes that he is a proselyte to Judaism.

- ἄτε πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀρετὴν ἀλείφοντες· τὸ δὲ
 σεμνὸν αὐστηρόν, τοῦτο δ' ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώ-
 180 πων ἀποστρέφεται διὰ τὴν ἡδονῆς ἀποδοχὴν. ἀλλ'
 ὅμως τῆς ὀρφανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρημίας ἔλεον καὶ
 οἰκτόν φησι Μωυσῆς αἰεὶ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
 τῶν ὄλων ᾧ προσκεκλήρωται, διότι τοῦ σύμπαντος
 ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀπενεμήθη οἷά τις ἀπαρχὴ τῷ
 181 ποιητῇ καὶ πατρί. τὸ δ' αἴτιον αἱ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν
 τοῦ ἔθνους περιμάχητοι δικαιοσύναι καὶ ἀρεταί, αἱ
 καθάπερ φυτὰ ἀθάνατα διαμένουσιν ἀειθαλέα καρ-
 πὸν φέρουσαι τοῖς ἀπογόνους σωτήριον καὶ πρὸς
 πάντα ὠφέλιμον, κἂν αὐτοὶ τύχωσι διαμαρτάνοντες
 182 ἰάσιμα ἀλλὰ μὴ παντελῶς ἀνίατα. μὴ
 μέντοι νομίσας τις ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τέλειον τὴν εὐ-
 γένειαν ὀλιγωρεῖτω καλῶν πράξεων, λογιζόμενος
 ὅτι μείζωνος ὀργῆς ἄξιος τυγχάνειν ἐστὶν ὁ γεννη-
 θεὶς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, αἰσχύνην δ' ἐπιφέρων τοῖς
 γεννήσασιν διὰ τὴν τῶν τρόπων κακίαν· ἔχων γὰρ
 οἰκεῖα παραδείγματα καλοκαγαθίας ἃ μιμήσεται
 καὶ μηδὲν ἀποματτόμενος εἰς ὑγιαίνοντος βίου
 κατόρθωσιν ἐπίληπτος.
- 183 XXXV. Ἀπαγορεύει δ' ὁ νόμος τῷ τὴν προ-
 στασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀνειληφότεν
 δικαιοτάτην ἀπαγόρευσιν, μὴ πορεύεσθαι δόλῳ ἐν
 τῷ ἔθνει· ψυχῆς γὰρ ἀνελευθέρου καὶ σφόδρα δου-
 λοπρεποῦς ἐπίβουλα ἦθη συσκιαζούσης ὑποκρίσει
 184 τὸ ἔργον. τὸν γὰρ ἄρχοντα οὕτως χρή προεστάναι

^a Cf. *De Praem.* 166 and note.

^b So LXX, Lev. xix. 16. E.V. "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people." Both in the

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 179-184

standard of virtue. But gravity is austere, and austerity is held in aversion by the great mass of men because they favour pleasure. Nevertheless as 180 Moses tells us the orphan-like desolate state of his people is always an object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe whose portion it is, because it has been set apart out of the whole human race as a kind of first fruits to the Maker and Father. And 181 the cause of this was the precious signs of righteousness and virtue shown by the founders of the race, signs which survive like imperishable plants, bearing fruit that never decays for their descendants, fruit salutary and profitable in every way, even though these descendants themselves be sinners, so long as the sins be curable and not altogether unto death.^a

Yet let no one think that good lineage 182 is a perfect blessing and then neglect noble actions, but reflect that greater anger is due to one who while his parentage is of the best brings shame upon his parents by the wickedness of his ways. Guilty is he who, having for his own models of true excellence to copy, reproduces nothing that serves to direct his life aright and keep it sound and healthy.

XXXV. The law lays upon anyone who has under- 183 taken to superintend and preside over public affairs a very just prohibition when it forbids him "to walk with fraud among the people,"^b for such conduct shows an illiberal and thoroughly slavish soul which disguises its malignant ways with hypocrisy. The 184 ruler should preside over his subjects as a father over

Hebrew and in the LXX it is no doubt a general precept, but as it is preceded by "in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour," Philo might allege some reason for applying it to a person in authority.

- τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς πατέρα παίδων, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ὑπὸ γνησίων υἱῶν ἀντιτιμᾶται· διὸ κοινοὶ πόλεων καὶ ἔθνων γονεῖς, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἄρχοντές εἰσιν οἱ ἀγαθοί, τὴν ἴσῃν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περιττότεραν εὐνοίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ ζημίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων μεγάλας περιβαλλομένους δυναστείας οὐκ ἄρχοντας ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς προσαγο-
- 185 ρευτέον, τὰ πολεμίων ἀσυμβάτων δρῶντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δολερῶς ἀδικοῦντες πονηρότεροι τῶν φανερώς ἐναντιουμένων εἰσίν, εἴ γε τοὺς μὲν ἔνεστι ραδίως ἀμύνασθαι γυμνὴν ἀπαμπίσχοντας τὴν δυσμένειαν, τῶν δ' ἐστὶ δύσληπτος καὶ δυσθήρατος ἢ μοχθηρία καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντων εἰς ἀπόκρυψιν ἀληθοῦς
- 186 ὥψεως. φθάνει δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶδος καὶ διαδέδυκεν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου μέρη, διαφέρον αὐτὸ μόνον μεγέθει καὶ τῷ ποσῷ. ὅπερ γὰρ πόλεως βασιλεύς, τοῦτο καὶ κώμης ὁ πρῶτος καὶ οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ νοσοῦν-
- [367] των ἱατρός, καὶ | στρατοπέδου μὲν στρατηγός, ναύαρχος δ' ἐπιβατικοῦ καὶ πληρωμάτων, καὶ πάλιν φορτίδων μὲν καὶ ὀλκάδων ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης δὲ πλωτήρων· οἱ πάντες δύνανται μὲν ἄμφω τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον, βούλεσθαι δ' ὀφείλουσι τὸ ἄμεινον· τὸ ἄμεινον δ' ἐστὶν ὠφελεῖν
- 187 ἀλλὰ μὴ βλάπτειν ὅσους ἂν οἶόν τε ᾗ. τὸ γὰρ ἔπεσθαι θεῷ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ κακείνῳ δύναμις μὲν ἐστὶ δρᾶν ἐκάτερα, βούλεται δὲ μόνον τὰγαθά. μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις τε καὶ διοικήσεις· τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι τάξιν ἐξ

¹ So Cohn for mss. διότι. The correction seems to me uncertain. See note a.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 184-187

his children so that he himself may be honoured in return as by true-born sons, and therefore ^a good rulers may be truly called the parents of states and nations in common, since they show a fatherly and sometimes more than fatherly affection. But those who assume great power to destroy and injure their subjects should be called not rulers but enemies acting like foemen in bitter war, though indeed those who do wrong craftily are more wicked than open adversaries. These last show their hostility stripped naked and it is easy to make defence against them; the villainy of the others is hard to catch or trace since they assume a strange garb as in a theatre to hide their true appearance. Now "rule" or "command" is a category which extends and intrudes itself, I might almost say, into every branch of life, differing only in magnitude and amount. For the relation of a king to a state is the same as that of a headman to a village, of a householder to a house, of a physician to his patients, of a general to an army, of an admiral to the marines and crews, or again of a skipper to merchant and cargo vessels or of a pilot to the seamen. All these have power both for good and for worse, but they ought to will the better, and the better is to benefit instead of injuring as many as they possibly can. For this is to follow God since He too can do both but wills the good only. This was shown both in the creation and in the ordering of the world. He called the non-existent into existence and produced order from disorder,

^a "Therefore" is perhaps more logical than the "because" of the mss. (see note 1). But Philo is not incapable of saying "good rulers are the parents of their subjects and *therefore* a ruler must behave as such."

ἀταξίας καὶ ἐξ ἀποίων ποιότητος καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων
 ὁμοιότητος καὶ ἐξ ἑτεροιοτήτων ταυτότητας καὶ
 ἐξ ἀκοινωνήτων καὶ ἀναρμόστων κοινωνίας καὶ
 ἁρμονίας καὶ ἐκ μὲν ἀνισότητος ἰσότητα ἐκ δὲ
 σκότους φῶς ἐργασάμενος· αἰὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπιμελὲς
 αὐτῷ καὶ ταῖς εὐεργέτισιν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεσι τὸ
 πλημμελὲς τῆς χείρονος οὐσίας μεταποιεῖν καὶ
 188 μεθαρμόζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω. XXXVI. ταῦτα
 μιμῆσθαι προσήκει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄρχοντας, εἴ γέ
 τις αὐτοῖς φροντίς ἔστιν ἐξομοιώσεως τῆς πρὸς
 θεόν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπορρεῖ μυρία καὶ λανθάνει τὸν ἀνθρώ-
 πινον νοῦν, ἅτ' ἐνδεδεμένον αἰσθήσεων ὅχλῳ
 τοσούτῳ παραγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπατῆσαι ψευδέσι δόξαις
 ἱκανωτάτῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἐντετυμβευμένον θνητῷ
 σώματι, ὃ κυρίως ἂν τις σῆμα καλέσειε, μηδεὶς
 αἰδεῖσθω δικαστῆς ὁμολογῶν ἀγνοεῖν ὅπερ ἀγνοεῖ.
 189 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ ψευδόμενος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενή-
 σεται χείρων, ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον τῆς ψυχῆς
 πεφυγαδευκώς· ἔπειτα δὲ μυρία βλάψει τοὺς
 κρινομένους, τυφλὴν γνῶσιν ἀποφαινόμενος τῷ μὴ
 190 βλέπειν τὰ δίκαια. ὅταν οὖν ἀμαυρὰν ποιῇται¹
 τὴν ἀντίληψιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀσάφειαν καὶ πολὺν
 σκότος ἀπεργαζομένων, παραιτείσθω τὰς κρίσεις

¹ Cohn in his footnote and still more strongly in a note to Heinemann's translation condemns ποιῇται and suggests οἷται or ἡγῇται. But examples of ποιεῖσθαι τι coupled with

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 187-190

qualities from things devoid of quality, similarities from dissimilars, identities from the totally different, fellowship and harmony from the dissociated and discordant, equality from inequality and light from darkness. For He and His beneficent powers ever make it their business to transmute the faultiness of the worse wherever it exists and convert it to the better. XXXVI. These things good rulers must 188 imitate if they have any aspiration to be assimilated to God.^a

But since a vast number of circumstances slip away from or are unnoticed by the human mind, imprisoned as it is amid all the thronging press of the senses, so competent to seduce and deceive it with false opinions, or rather entombed in a mortal body which may be quite properly called a sepulchre,^b let no judge be ashamed, when he is ignorant of anything, to confess his ignorance. Otherwise in the first 189 place the false pretender will himself deteriorate as he has banished truth from the confines of the soul, and secondly he will do immense harm to the suitors if through failing to see what is just he pronounces a blind decision. So then if the facts create a sense of 190 uncertainty and great obscurity, and he feels that his apprehension of them is but dim, he should

^a See App. p. 436.

^b Σῆμα σώμα—a well-known play of words, Plato, *Cratylus* 400 B, *Gorgias* 493 A. See App. p. 436.

an adjective or adjectival phrase in the sense of "consider" are fairly common, and though perhaps none quoted are quite analogous to this "considers his apprehension to be dim," they come near enough to it to forbid dogmatism. On the other hand is *οἶεσθαι* followed by the adjective, without an expressed infinitive, in ordinary Greek?

- καὶ ἀναπεμπέτω πρὸς ἀκριβεστέρους δικαστάς· οὗτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἢ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱερέων
 191 ἑξάρχος καὶ ἡγεμών; οἱ γὰρ λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ γνήσιοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπιμελῶς ἡκόννηται, τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν οὐ μικρὸν σφάλμα ἡγούμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ θεραπευομένου βασιλέως —διὸ καὶ προστέτακται πᾶσι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις νηφάλια¹ θύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν τοῦ παραπαίειν καὶ παραληρεῖν φάρμακον ὑπείσθλθον τοὺς τῆς διανοίας
 192 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀμαυρώσῃ—, τάχα δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερεὺς εὐθύς ἐστι προφήτης, οὐ γένει
 [368] μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῇ παρεληλυθὼς ἐπὶ | τὴν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείαν, προφήτῃ δ' οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον, ἔχοντι νοητὸν ἥλιον ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσκίους αὐγὰς, εἰς ἐναργεστάτην κατάληψιν τῶν αἰσθήσει μὲν ἀοράτων διανοία δὲ καταληπτῶν.
- 193 XXXVII. Πάλιν οἱ σταθμία καὶ ζυγὰ καὶ μέτρα διαχειρίζοντες ἔμποροι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ὥνια πιπράσκουσι ξηρά τε καὶ ὑγρά τάττονται μὲν ὑπ' ἀγορανόμοις, ὀφείλουσι δ' αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἐὰν σωφρονῶσιν,

¹ So mss. except one νηφαλίου. Cohn, who corrects to νηφαλίους here and in i. 100, must have failed to observe, as I did also there, that νηφάλια θύειν is found in exactly the same connexion in *De Ebr.* 126 and probably *ibid.* 140. So also in *De Vit. Cont.* 74 νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν καὶ τούτοις (*i.e.* the Therapeutae) βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται. See App. p. 436.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 190-193

decline to judge the cases and send them up to more discerning judges.^a And who should these be but the priests, and the head and leader of the priests? For 191 the genuine ministers of God have taken all care to sharpen their understanding and count the slightest error to be no slight error, because the surpassing greatness of the King whom they serve is seen in every matter; and therefore all officiating priests are commanded to abstain from strong drink when they sacrifice, that no poison to derange^b the mind and the tongue should steal in and dim the eyes of the understanding. Another possible reason for sending such 192 cases to the priests is that the true priest is necessarily a prophet, advanced to the service of the truly Existent by virtue rather than by birth, and to a prophet nothing is unknown since he has within him a spiritual sun and unclouded rays to give him a full and clear apprehension of things unseen by sense but apprehended by the understanding.^c

XXXVII. Again those who handle weights and 193 scales and measures, merchants, pedlars and retailers and all others who sell goods to sustain life, solid or liquid, are no doubt subject to market-controllers,^d but ought, if they have sound sense, to be their own

thee in judgement . . . thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days." Philo understands "the judge" to be the high priest. See App. p. 436.

^b I understand *παρὰ πάλειν* to indicate insanity in general, and *παρὰ ληρεῖν* as shown in speech. They may, however, be mere synonyms.

^c Here or perhaps at § 188, since the next sections apply to the judge rather than to the ruler, ends all that can fall under the head of "appointment of a ruler," and the rest of the treatise is taken up with miscellaneous matters of justice.

^d See App. p. 437.

PHILO

- ἄρχοντες εἶναι, μὴ φόβῳ τὰ δίκαια δρῶντες ἀλλ' ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ· τοῦ γὰρ μετ' ἀνάγκης τὸ αὐτο-
 194 κέλευστον κατόρθωμα τιμιώτερον πανταχοῦ. διὸ προστάττει τοῖς καπήλοις καὶ ἐμπόροις καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι τὴν τοιαύτην προαίρεσιν ἐπανήρηνται τοῦ βίου ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ σταθμία καὶ μέτρα παρασκευάζεσθαι, μηδὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ὠνουμένων κακοτεχνοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀδόλου ψυχῆς ἕκαστα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐκείνο λογιζομένους, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄδικα κέρδη βλαβερώτατα, ὁ δὲ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πλοῦτος ἀναφαίρετος.
- 195 Ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλεργίας ἄθλα μισθοὶ πρόκεινται τοῖς δημιουργοῖς, δημιουργοῦσι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἐνδείαις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷς ἄφθονοι περιουσίαι, κελεύει μὴ ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰς δόσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ παρέχειν ἡμέρα τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πενήτων ὑπηρεσίας ἀπειληφέναι τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὰς δ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἀμοιβὰς μὴ ἀντι-
 196 παρασχεῖν ἀπόροις εὐθὺς περιουσίᾳ ζῶντας. ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναργῇ δείγματα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ προφυλακῆς μειζόνων ἀδικημάτων; ὁ γὰρ μηδὲ μισθὸν τὸν πάντως ἀποδοθησόμενον ἐὼν ἐκπρόθεσμον γενέσθαι, προθεσμίαν ὀρίσας ἐσπέραν, ἐν ᾗ δεήσει τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπαλλαττόμενον οὔκαδε κομίσασθαι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, οὗτος οὐ πολὺ πρότερον ἀρπαγὴν
 128

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 193-196

rulers and do what is just not through fear but of their own free will, for a right action if self-prompted is everywhere held in higher honour than if done under compulsion.^a And therefore he commands 194 tradesmen, merchants and all who have taken up such a line of life to provide themselves with just scales and weights and measures, and eschew dishonest plots to injure their customers, and rather let every word and deed spring from a liberal and guileless spirit, considering that unjust gains are utterly pernicious but wealth which comes of justice can never be taken away.^b

Since workmen or labourers are offered wages as a 195 reward for their industry and the persons so employed are the needy and not those who have abundance of resources to spare, he orders the employer not to postpone his payment but to render the stipulated wages on that very day.^c For it is against all reason that the well-to-do, with their ample means of livelihood should after receiving the services of the poor fail to render at once to the needy the recompense for their services. Have we not here clearly indicated a 196 warning against worse iniquities? He who having appointed the evening^d as the time in which a labourer should receive his recompense when he leaves for home, and does not even permit the wage though its final payment is assured to be delayed beyond the agreed hour—how much more does he forbid robbery

^a Lev. xix. 35, 36, Deut. xxv. 13-15.

^b I understand this to mean not, as Heinemann, justly earned wealth, which Philo could hardly suppose to be absolutely secure, but the spiritual wealth which the possession of justice entails, *cf. e.g. De Virt.* 8.

^c Lev. xix. 13, Deut. xxiv. 15.

^d "The sun shall not go down upon it," Deut. *l.c.*

PHILO

ἀπαγορεύει καὶ κλοπὴν καὶ χρεωκοπίαν καὶ ὅσα
τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα, διαπλάττων καὶ διαμορφῶν
τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς δόκιμον εἶδος τὸ καλοκάγαθίας
αὐτῆς;

- 197 XXXVIII. Εὖ μέντοι κακέينو διείρηται, ὅπως
μηδεὶς μηδένα βλασφημῇ καὶ κακηγορῇ, καὶ
μάλιστα κωφὸν οὔτε αἰσθῆσιν ὧν ἀδικεῖται δυνά-
μενον λαβεῖν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις αὐτὸ τοῦτο¹ ἀμύ-
νασθαι. μάχη γὰρ πασῶν ἐκνομωτάτη, καθ' ἣν
τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος ἐν τῷ δρᾶν ἐξετάζεται, τὸ δ'
198 ἕτερον ἐν τῷ μόνον πάσχειν. τοῖς δὲ κακηγοροῦσι
τοὺς ἀναύδους καὶ τὰ ὦτα βεβλαμμένους ὅμοιον
ἀδίκημα δρῶσιν οἱ τυφλοῖς ὀλίσθους ἐμποιοῦντες
καὶ ἕτερ' ἅττα² ἐν ποσὶ τιθέντες· ἀνάγκη γάρ,
οὐχ οἷους τε ὄντας ὑπερβαίνειν δι' ἄγνοιαν, περι-
πταίοντας ἀμφότερα καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαμαρτάνειν
199 καὶ τὰς βάσεις βλάπτεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων
ἐργάταις τε καὶ ζηλωταῖς ἐπανατείνεται θεοῦ
[369] φόβον ὁ νόμος, εἰκότως καὶ | προσηκόντως, ἐπειδὴ
μόνος οὗτος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπερέχει καὶ προασπίζει
τῶν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἀδυνατούντων· καὶ μόνον οὐκ
200 ἀντικρύς φησι τοῖς ἀδικοπραγοῦσι· “ τοὺς μὲν

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 196-200

and theft and repudiation of debts and other things of the same kind, and thus mould and shape the soul into the approved standard, into the form of true goodness itself.

XXXVIII. Another excellent injunction is that no 197 one is to revile or abuse any other, particularly a deaf-mute^a who can neither perceive the wrong he suffers nor retaliate in the same way, nor on an equal footing. For no kind of fighting is so utterly unfair as that where activity is the part assigned to one side and only passivity to the other. This offence of reviling 198 those who have lost the power of speech and the use of their ears is paralleled by those who cause the blind to slip or put some other obstacles in their way.^b For since in their ignorance they cannot surmount them, they needs must stumble about so that they both miss the right path and damage their feet.^c Those who carry out or have a zest for such tricks 199 are menaced by the law with the terrors of God's wrath; this is right and reasonable, since it is God alone whose arm is extended to shield those who are unable to help themselves. And his words are little less than a plain declaration to the workers of iniquity "Ye senseless fools, you expect to go un- 200

^a Lev. xix. 14. E.V. "thou shalt not curse the deaf." LXX "thou shalt not speak ill of the deaf." The sequel shows that Philo understands *κωφόν* to include dumbness.

^b *Ibid.* "nor put a stumbling-block before the blind."

^c Cf. Deut. xxvii. 18 "cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way."

¹ Some mss. *παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο* = "for this very reason," i.e. that they are *κωφοί*. The *αὐτὸ τοῦτο* alone somewhat strains the use of the cognate accusative.

² Mangey with some mss. *ἐνέδρα* = "traps."

πλημμελουμένους, ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν,¹ λήσεσθαι νομίζετε γέλωτα ἡγούμενοι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς καὶ εἰς ταῦτα ἑξαμαρτάνοντες, περὶ ᾧ συμβέβηκεν ἀτυχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὧτα μὲν διὰ κακηγοριῶν, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ὀλίσθων· τὸν δὲ πάντων ἕφορον καὶ δίοπον θεὸν οὐδέποτε λήσεσθε κακοπραγίαις ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων ἐπεμβαίνοντες, ὥς τὰς ὁμοίας κήρας οὐκ ἐνδεξόμενοι, σῶμα μὲν πάσαις ἀλωτὸν νόσοις περιφέροντες, αἰσθήσεις δ' ἐπικήρως ἐχούσας, αἱ μικρὰς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 201 ἀνιάτους ὑπομένουσι πηρώσεις." τοὺς οὖν ἐπιληλησμένους μὲν ἑαυτῶν, ἐπικυδεστέρους δ' οἰομένους εἶναι τῆς φυσικῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενείας, ἐκπεφευγῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀδήλους καὶ ἀτεκμάρτους τῆς τύχης ἐπιβουλὰς, ἧ πολλάκις αἰφνιδίους σκηπτοὺς ἐπέρριψε καὶ εὐπλοία βίου χρωμένους μόνον οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν εὐδαιμονίας κατέκλυσε, τί δεῖ μεγαλαυχεῖν καὶ ἐπεμβαίνειν συμφοραῖς ἑτέρων, μηδὲ τὴν πάρεδρον δίκην τοῦ πάντων ἡγεμόνος

¹ The punctuation here should be specially noted. All other editions have φησι τοῖς ἀδικοπραγοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πεπλημμελημένους· "ὧ κενοὶ φρενῶν," κτλ. Mangey, Cohn, and Heinemann all take this punctuation for granted. Mangey strangely translates "videtur affari insontes laedentibus." Cohn pronounced τοὺς μὲν πεπλημμελημένους to be corrupt (see his discussion in *Hermes*, 1908, p. 210). The μὲν, as he says, has no δὲ or other antithesis, and πεπλημμελημένους, which he unnecessarily thinks intended to = "the disabled," cannot have that meaning. (If however it is taken in the ordinary sense of "the wronged," it is merely otiose after ἀδικοπραγοῦσι.) Accordingly he proposed τοὺς μέρος τι πεπηρωμένους and Heinemann follows him.

With the changed punctuation all difficulty, I believe, is removed. τοὺς μὲν πλημμελουμένους is in its right place as an

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 200-201

detected by those whom you wrong when you count their calamities a laughing matter and work your wickedness against those parts in which misfortune has befallen them, against their ears by your reviling, against their eyes by the pitfalls which you set in their way. But you will never go undetected by God who surveys and controls all things, when you trample on the misfortunes of stricken men, as if you could never fall into like disasters, though the body which you have always with you can become the prey of every disease and your senses are perishable, liable through some trifling and quite ordinary occasion, not merely to be dulled and darkened but also to suffer incurable disablement." These persons have 201 lost the knowledge of their real selves; they think that distinction raises them above the natural weakness of mankind and that they have escaped the uncertainties and caprices of fortune's hostility, fortune who often launches her sudden blasts on those who are sailing prosperously through life and sends them foundering when almost in the very harbour of felicity. What right have they to vaunt themselves and trample on the misfortunes of others without respect for the assessor of the ruler of all, justice,

antithesis to τὸν δὲ . . . θεόν, and the sense is improved, as the tricksters of course are right in thinking that they will go undetected by their victims. I do not think any objection can be raised by the transference of the vocative from the beginning of the clause to a later place. Such a position, if not general, is certainly found, *e.g.* in i. 320, iii. 66. The general use of ἀδικοπραγεῖν intransitively also supports my view. See App. p. 437.

Between πλημμελουμένους and πεπλημμελημένους the mss. are divided. I have a very slight preference for the present, as the authors of the outrage are undetected at the time.

αἰδουμένους, ἥ θέμις ἀκοιμήτοις καὶ ὀξυωπεστάτοις
 ὄμμασι καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ
 202 περιαθρεῖν; οὗτοί μοι δοκοῦσι μηδ' ἂν τετελευ-
 τηκότων ἀποσχέσθαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος,
 ἀλλὰ (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς)
 μὴ ἂν ὀκνήσαι νεκροὺς ἐπισφάττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 μέρεσι τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ προτεθνηκόσιν ἐναλύειν
 καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν ἀξιούσιν—ὀφθαλμοί τε γὰρ μὴ βλέ-
 ποντες νεκροὶ καὶ ὦτα μὴ ἀκούοντα—, ὥστ' εἰ
 καὶ οὐ μέρη ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθείη,
 τὸ ἀνηλεὲς καὶ ἀσύμβατον ἐπιδείξονται, μηδὲν
 ἀνθρώπινον καὶ συμπαθὲς δράσαντες, ἃ τετελευ-
 τηκόσι καὶ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐν ἀκηρύκτοις πολέμοις
 σῶζεται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

203 XXXIX. Ἀρμονίαν δέ τινα στοιχηδὸν ἐξῆς
 τίθησιν ὁμοιοτρόπων παραγγελμάτων, φάσκων τὰ
 κτήνη μὴ ὀχεύειν ἑτεροζύγοις, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα μὴ
 κατασπείρειν δίφορον,¹ ἱμάτιον ἐκ δυοῖν ὑφασμένον,
 κίβδηλον ἔργον, μὴ ἀμπέχεσθαι. λέλεκται δὲ τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μοιχῶν, πρὸς ἔμφασιν
 [370] τρανοτέραν τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλοτρίοις γάμοις | ἐφ-
 εδρεύειν, φθείροντας μὲν ἥθη γυναικῶν, φθείροντας
 δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τέκνων σπορᾷ γνησίῳ χρηστὰς
 ἐλπίδας· ὁ γὰρ τὰς ἐν ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἑτερογενῶν

¹ Some mss. *διάφορον* and in § 208. The same variation is found in the corresponding passages of the mss. of the LXX.

^a Cf. ii. 94 f.

^b Lev. xix. 19, Deut. xxii. 9-11. Both passages include the rule of the vineyard and the mixed garment. But in Leviticus the different species are not to mate, in Deuteronomy not to plough together. Philo in the main follows Leviticus,

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 201-203

whose right and duty it is with the surpassing keenness of her never-sleeping eyes to survey the secrets of the corner as though they were in bright sunlight. These men, it seems to me, would in their exceeding 202 cruelty not spare the dead^a but would without a qualm reslay the slain, to use the popular phrase, since they shrink not to vent their outrageous fury on parts in a sense already dead, eyes which seeing not and ears which hearing not are just corpses. And therefore if he to whom these parts belong should be removed from amongst men, they will show their implacable ruthlessness and grant him none of that human and sympathetic treatment which is maintained towards the fallen even by enemies in the bitterest warfare. So much for this part of the subject.

XXXIX. ^b He also lays down an ordered series of 203 injunctions all on the same lines by forbidding them to mate their cattle with those of a different species, or to sow the vineyards for two kinds of fruit, or to wear a garment adulterated ^c by weaving it from two materials. The first of these prohibitions has been mentioned in our denunciation of adulterers ^d to suggest still more clearly the wickedness of conspiring against the wedlock of other people, thereby ruining the morals of the wives as well as any honest hopes of begetting a legitimate family. For by prohibiting the crossing of irrational animals with different species

but takes account in §§ 205 f. of Deuteronomy, treating it as an illustration. In E.V. Leviticus has "field" of the second injunction, Deuteronomy "vineyard." But the LXX has "vineyard" in both.

^c E.V. "mingled together." The LXX κίβδηλον, which Philo quotes, probably meant the same, but he could easily read into it the sense of adulterated.

^d See iii. 46 ff.

- 204 οχείας ἀπηγορευκὼς ἔοικε πόρρωθεν ἀνακοπὴν
 μοιχῶν ἐργάζεσθαι. λεκτέον δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς
 περὶ δικαιοσύνης· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πλείοσιν ἐφαρμότ-
 τειν, εἰ δύναιτό πως, οὐ παρετέον. ἔστιν οὖν
 δίκαιον εἰς ταὐτὸν ἄγειν τὰ δυνάμενα κοινωνεῖν·
 τὰ δ' ὁμογενῇ πέφυκεν εἰς κοινωνίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσα
 ἑτερογενῇ κατὰ τοῦναντίον ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινωνήτα,
 οἷς ὁ μηχανώμενος ἐκθέσμονς ὁμιλίας ἄδικος,
 205 νόμον φύσεως ἀναιρῶν. ὁ δ' ὄντως ἱερὸς νόμος
 τοσαύτῃ προμηθείᾳ κέχρηται τοῦ δικαίου, ὥστ'
 οὐδ' ἄροτον γῆς ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν τὴν
 ἰσχὺν ἀνίσων, ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ καταζεύξαντας ὄνον
 τε καὶ μόσχον ἀροτριᾶν ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μὴ περιττῇ
 δυνάμει τοῦ μᾶλλον ἐρρωμένου τὸ ἀσθενέστερον
 206 ἀμιλλᾶσθαι βιασθὲν ἀπείπη καὶ προκάμη. καίτοι
 τὸ μὲν ἐρρωμενέστερον, ὁ ταῦρος, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν
 καθαρῶν ζώων ἀναγράφεται, τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον,
 ὁ ὄνος, ἐν τῇ τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ
 τοῖς χείροσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ὠφε-
 λείας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου, πρὸς ἀναγκαιοτάτην
 μάθησιν, ὥς γ' οἶμαι, δικαστῶν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐν ταῖς
 κρίσεσιν ἐλαττώσι τοὺς δυσγενεῖς ἐν οἷς οὐ γένους
 ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐστὶν ἐξέτασις.
 207 ἐμφερές ἐστι τούτοις διάταγμα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
 τῶν ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ, τὸ μὴ συνυφαίνειν τὰς ἑτεροει-
 δεῖς οὐσίας, ἔρια καὶ λῖνα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων οὐ
 μόνον ἡ διαφορότης ἀκοινωνήτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
 ἐπικράτεια θατέρου ῥῆξιν ἀπεργαζομένη¹ μᾶλλον ἢ
 ἔνωσιν, ὅταν δέῃ χρῆσθαι.
 208 XL. Μέσον ἦν τῆς ἐν συζυγίᾳ τριάδος τὸ μὴ

¹ MSS. ἀπεργαζόμενον -σόμενον -σάμενον.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 203-208

he appears to be indirectly working towards the prevention of adultery. But the law should be mentioned 204 also here, where the theme is justice, for we must not neglect the opportunity where possible of using the same point to bring out more than one moral. Now it is just to join together things which can associate, and the homogeneous are made for association just as the heterogeneous on the other hand cannot be blended or associated, and one who plans to bring them into abnormal companionship is unjust because he upsets a law of nature. But the law in its essential 205 holiness shows such thoughtfulness for what is just that it does not even allow the land to be ploughed by animals of unequal strength and forbids the ass and the young bull to be yoked together for this purpose, lest the weaker partner, forced to compete with the extra power of the stronger, should break down and faint on the way. It is true indeed that 206 the stronger, the bull, is named in the list of clean animals while the weaker, the ass, belongs to the unclean. Nevertheless the law did not grudge the help of justice to the seemingly inferior, in order, I believe, to teach judges a most indispensable lesson that they should not in their judgements set the meanly born at a disadvantage, when the point under examination is not concerned with birth but with good and bad conduct.

Also similar to these two 207 is the last enactment in the group, which forbids wool and linen, substances differing in kind, to be woven together, for in this case not only does the difference forbid association, but also the superior strength of the one will produce a rupture rather than unification when they have to be worn.

XL. Midway in the group of the three comes the 208

- κατασπείρειν ἀμπελῶνα δίφορον. πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχεόμενα τὰ γένους ὄντα ἑτέρου· σπαρτὰ γὰρ δένδροις καὶ δένδρα σπαρτοῖς ἀνοί-
 κεια. παρὸ καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν προθεσμίαν ἀμφοτέροις ὥρισεν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑτησίων καρπῶν γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἄμητον ὥραν ἀπένειμε τὸ ἔαρ, τοῖς δ' εἰς συγκομιδὴν ἀκροδρύων λῆγον
- 209 θέρος. συμβαίνει γοῦν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὰ μὲν ἀφαναίνεσθαι προανθήσαντα, τὰ δὲ βλαστά-
 νειν προαφανανθέντα· χειμῶνι μὲν γὰρ φυλλορρο-
 ούντων δένδρων τὰ σπαρτὰ ἀνθεῖ, ἔαρ δὲ κατὰ τοῦναντίον ἀναινομένων ὅσα σπαρτὰ βλαστάνουσιν αἱ δένδρων ἡμέρων τε καὶ ἀγρίων ὕλαι· καὶ σχεδὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ μὲν τῶν σπαρτῶν καρποὶ τελειοῦνται, οἱ δὲ τῶν δένδρων ἀρχὴν
- 210 γενέσεως λαμβάνουσιν. εἰκότως οὖν τὰ τοσοῦτον
 [371] ἀλλήλων | διηρημένα καὶ ταῖς φύσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀνθήσεσι καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν τὰ οἰκεία καιροῖς δι-
 ἔζευξε καὶ διώκισε τάξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας εἰσηγούμενος· τάξει μὲν γὰρ συγγενὲς κόσμος, ἀταξία δὲ τὸ
- 211 ἄκοσμον. δεύτερον δέ, ἵνα μὴ ἑκάτερα τὰ εἶδη βλάβηται τε καὶ ἀντιβλάβηται, τὴν τρο-
 φὴν τὰ ἕτερα τῶν ἑτέρων παρασπώμενα, ἧς κατα-
 κερματιζομένης, οἷα ἐν λιμῷ καὶ σπάνει, ἀναγκαίως τὰ φυτὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐξασθενήσῃ καὶ ἡ στεί-
 ρωσιν ἐνδέξεται πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφορήσαντα ἢ

^a ὕλη is here a collective noun embracing a genus or variety of trees or vegetation. So below § 229 and i. 74 τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης. This sense is not given in L. & S.

^b This word is very inadequate as a translation for κόσμος here, but I doubt whether any equivalent to it exists in English. It is something higher than mere τάξις, and thus

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 208-211

order not to sow the vineyard for bearing two kinds of fruit. The first reason for this is to keep things of a different kind from being mixed and confused. For sown crops have no relation to trees nor trees to sown crops and therefore nature has not appointed the same date to both for producing their annual fruits, but has assigned spring to the one for reaping the corn harvest and the end of summer to the other for gathering the fruits. Thus we find that the sown 209 plants after their flowering wither at the same time as the trees sprout after withering. For the sown plants flower in the winter when the trees shed their leaves while on the contrary in the spring when all the sown plants are withering the trees of both types^a the cultivated and the wild are sprouting, and practically it is at the same time that the crops reach their fullness and the fruits begin to grow. These two so greatly differing in their natures, their 210 flowerings and their seasons for gendering their own particular products he rightly put asunder and set at a distance from each other, thus reducing disorder to order. For order is akin to seemliness^b and disorder to unseemliness.

The second reason 211 was to prevent each of the two species from hurting and being hurt in return by abstracting the nourishment from each other. For if this nourishment is divided up, as it is in times of famine and dearth, all the plants will necessarily lose all their strength and either become sterilized and completely unproductive or else bear nothing but poor fruit as a consequence can be used to signify good behaviour and adornment and the perfection of the cosmic system (*cf.* § 237). Perhaps "harmony" might come nearest to it. Heinemann gives "regularity" and "order" ("Regelmässigkeit" and "Ordnung").

- εὐγενεῖς καρποὺς οὐδέποτε οἷσει προεξασθενήσαντα
 212 ταῖς ἐνδείαις. τρίτον δέ, ὅπως ἀρετῶσα
 γῇ μὴ πέλῃται βαρυτάτοις ἄχθεσι, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ
 τῆς τῶν σπειρομένων ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ φυομένων
 συνεχοῦς καὶ ἐπαλλήλου πυκνότητος, τοῦτο δ' ὑπὸ
 τῆς τῶν καρπῶν διπλασιαζομένης φορᾶς. ἀπόχρη
 γὰρ ἐξ ἐνὸς χωρίου λαμβάνειν ἓνα δασμὸν ἐτήσιον
 τῷ κεκτημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐκ πόλεως βασιλεῖ· τὸ δὲ
 φόρους ἐπιχειρεῖν πλείους ἐκλέγειν φιλοχρηματίας
 ὑπερβαλλούσης ἔργον ἐστίν, ἣ καὶ τὰ φύσεως
 213 ἀνατρέπεται νόμιμα. διὸ φαίη ἂν ὁ νόμος τοῖς
 ἐγνωκόσι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας ἐνεκα πλεονεξίας κατα-
 σπείρειν· “ μὴ χεῖρους γίνεσθε τῶν ὅπλοις καὶ
 στρατείαις πόλεις καὶ χώρας ὑπηγμένων βασιλέων,
 οἱ προνοῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ ἅμα φειδοῖ τῶν
 ὑπηκόων ἓνα δασμὸν ἐτήσιον ἐκλέγειν ἀξιούσι,
 στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ μὴ βραχεῖ καιρῷ κατὰ τὸ
 παντελὲς εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγεῖν.
 214 ὑμεῖς δ' εἰάν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐδάφους ἔαρι μὲν τοὺς
 κριθῶν καὶ πυρῶν φόρους ἀναπράττητε, θέρει δὲ
 τοὺς τῶν ἀκροδρύων, διπλασίοις αὐτὸ δασμοῖς
 ἐκτραχηλιεῖτε· ἀπαγορεύσει γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
 ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἐωμένον διαπνεῖν καὶ συλ-
 215 λέγεσθαι δύναμιν εἰς ἐτέρας ἀγωνίας ἀρχήν. ἀλλ'
 εἰκόκατε ῥαδίως ὦν διεταξάμην κοινωφελῶν ἐκ-
 λανθάνεσθαι· εἰ γοῦν ἐμέμνησθε τῆς περὶ τοῦ
 ἐβδόμου ἔτους εἰσηγήσεως, καθ' ἣν ἐδικαίωσα
 τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐξανίσθαι μηδενὶ τῶν κατὰ
 γεωργίαν ἔργων ἀποτρυχομένην ἐνεκα τῶν ἐν
 ἐξαετία πόνων, οὓς ὑπέστη καρποφοροῦσα ταῖς

^a This use of *καιρός* for a space of time is strange. Pos-

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 211-215

of the debility caused by their lack of nourishment.

The third reason was that good soil 212 should not suffer from the pressure of two very heavy burdens, one the close unbroken density of the plants which are sown and grow on the same spot, the other the task of bearing a double crop of fruit. A single yearly tribute from a single piece of ground is enough for the owner to receive, as the same from a city is enough for a king. To attempt to levy more than one toll shows excessive avarice, and that is a vice which upsets the laws of nature. And therefore the 213 law would say to those who are minded to gratify their covetousness by laying down seed in their vineyard "do not show yourselves inferior to kings who have subdued cities and countries by arms and military expeditions. They with an eye to the future and at the same time wishing to spare their subjects deem it best to levy one yearly tribute in order to avoid reducing them in a short space of time^a to the utmost depths of poverty. But you if you 214 exact from the same plot in the spring its contributions of wheat and barley and in the summer the same from the fruit trees will wring the life out of it by the double taxation. For it will naturally become exhausted like an athlete who is not allowed a breathing space and a chance of rallying his forces to begin another contest. But you appear to forget 215 too easily the injunctions which I gave for the common weal.^b If only you had remembered my instruction as to the seventh year, in which I laid it down that the holy land should be left at liberty in consideration of its six-years labours, which it und-
sibly he means "with (*i.e.* for) a small advantage." See Dictionary.

^b See ii. 87-93.

PHILO

ἐτησίοις ὥραις κατὰ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως θεσμούς,
οὐκ ἂν ἐπιναεινόμενοι καὶ ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες ταῖς
πλεονεξίαις καινοὺς σπόρους ἐπενοεῖτε τὴν δενδρί-
τιδα γῆν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀμπελόφυτον κατα-
σπεύροντες, ἵνα διτταῖς προσόδοις καθ' ἕκαστον
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀμφοτέραις ἀδίκοις αὕξητε τὰς οὐσίας
ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας, ἐκνόμου ἐπιθυμίας,¹ ἀργυρο-
216 λογοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἔτει τε
ἐβδόμῳ τὰ οἰκεία χωρία ἀνιέναι μὴ προσοδεύο-
μενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἀνακτήσασθαι πονηθεῖσαν,
καὶ βαρύνειν αὐτὴν καὶ πιέζειν διττοῖς ἄχθεσιν.
217 ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἀπεφηνάμην τῶν τοιούτων κτημά-
[372] των ἀνίερων εἶναι καὶ ἀναγνον | τό τε τῆς ὀπώρας
γέννημα καὶ τὸν τοῦ σπόρου καρπὸν, διότι αὐχενί-
ζεται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἄγχεται πνεῦμα ζωοφυτοῦν
ἐν ἀρετώσῃ γῇ καὶ ὅτι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεαῖς ὁ
κεκτημένος ἐναλύει καὶ ἐνσπαθᾷ προσαναρρηγνὺς
τὰς ἀδίκους ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ, μέτροις αὐτὰς μὴ
218 περιορίζων." ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον ἐρασθῆναι τῶν τοιού-

¹ MSS. ἐκνόμοις ἐπιθυμίαις.

^a This double phrase ἐπιναεινόμενοι καὶ ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες has been used in *Quod Deus* 170, where the translation "with swaggering air and gestures of pride" suits the contents. Here any reading that retains the literal sense of "gesticulating" seems out of place, and the phrase may be regarded as a familiar expression for "taking pride in." L. & S. (revised) refer to this passage and suppose that ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες means "grasping at." But this does not fit ταῖς πλεονεξίαις. ἐπιχειρονομεῖν is not quoted from any other writer.

^b Deut. xxii. 9. R.V. "lest the whole fruit be forfeited, the seed which thou hast sown, and the increase of the vineyard." In margin for "forfeited," Heb. "consecrated."

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 215-218

went in bearing fruit at the annual season prescribed by the laws of nature, and not be worn out by any of the husbandman's operations, you would not, recklessly and triumphantly giving full play^a to your covetous feelings, have planned strange forms of tillage by laying down seed in land fitted for the culture of trees and particularly the vine, just to gain every year two separate revenues both unjustly earned and thus increase your property with the levy which the lawless passion of avarice has led you to exact. For he who can bring himself to let his 216 own farms go free in the seventh year and draw no income from them in order to give the land fresh life after its labours is not the man to overload and oppress them with a double burden. And therefore 217 of necessity I pronounced on such acquisitions that both the autumn harvest and the fruit of the sown crops were unholy and impure,^b because the life-creating spirit-force in the rich soil is so to speak throttled and strangled, and because the owner vents his wild wastefulness^c on the gifts of God in an outburst of unjust desires which he does not confine within moderate bounds." Should not our passionate 218 affection go out to such enactments as these which

The A.V. has "defiled." The explanation of this word seems to be that "it is separated to Jehovah and his sanctuary like things under the ban" (Adam Smith) and so shown to be a religious offence. The LXX has *ἵνα μὴ ἀγιάσθῃ* which Philo, taking *ἵνα* as often to be consecutive, makes = "so that it is not sanctified."

^c Heinemann's translation of these words "mishandles and mutilates" (or "mangles"), seems to me to miss their force. Mangey's "insultat et illudit" is better. The general meaning of *σπαθῶ* is "to spend wastefully," though since wastefulness is not a very obvious characteristic of the action here, "wantonness" might be better.

των ὑφηγήσεων, αἱ μακρόθεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις πλεονεξιῶν τὴν λύσσαν ἀνείργουσι καὶ ἀνακόπτουσιν; ὁ γὰρ ἀπομαθὼν ἐν φυτοῖς ἰδιώτης κέρδος ἄδικον, εἰ λαβόμενος μειζόνων πραγμάτων γένοιτο βασιλεύς, χρήσεται τῷ ἔθει πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας οὐ διττοὺς φόρους ἀναπράττων οὐδὲ¹ δασμοῖς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐκτραχηλίζων· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τὸ σύντροφον ἔθος μαλάξαι σκληρὰ ἦθη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παιδαγωγῆσαι καὶ διαπλάσαι πρὸς βελτίονας τύπους· τύποι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσίν, οὓς ἐνσφραγίζεται ψυχῇ δικαιοσύνη.

- 219 XLI. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ νομοθετεῖ. καθολικώτεροι δὲ προσταῖεις εἰσὶν ἕτεραι, ἃς ἅπαντι τῷ ἔθνει κοινῇ διαγορεύει, παραινῶν ὥς προσενεκτέον οὐ φίλοις καὶ συμμαχοῖς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ
220 καὶ τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ἀφισταμένοις. ἔαν γάρ, φησὶν, εἴσω τειχῶν κατακλείσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπαυχενίζωσιν, ἢ ὑμετέρα νεότης εὐοπλοῦσα μετὰ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἐπίτω καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ βαλλομένη καραδοκεῖτω μηδὲν ὀργῇ πρὸ λογισμοῦ χαριζομένη, βεβαιότερον ὅπως καὶ στα-
221 θερώτερον ἐγχειρῇ τοῖς πρακτέοις. εὐθύς οὖν πεμπέτω κήρυκας τοὺς προκαλεσομένους εἰς συμβάσεις καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς παριδρυμένης δυνάμεως δηλώσοντας· καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἐνεω-

¹ Cohn inserts διττοῖς before δασμοῖς. It does not seem to me necessary.

^a Or perhaps "covetous actions directed against men" (as opposed to those directed against plants).

^b Deut. xx. 10 ff., which describe the proper conduct of

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 218-221

by implication restrain and shackle the mad covetous desires which beset mankind?^a For he who as a commoner has learned to shun unjust gains in the treatment of his plants will, if he becomes a king with greater matters in his charge, follow his acquired habit when he comes to deal with men and also women. He will not exact a double tribute nor wring the life out of his subjects with his imposts. For long familiar habit has the power to soften harsh temperaments and in a sense to tutor and mould them to better forms, and the better forms are those which justice imprints on the soul.

XLI. These laws he gives to each single person 219 but there are other more general commands which he addresses to the whole nation in common, advising them how to behave not only to friends and allies but also to those who renounce their alliance.^b For 220 if these revolt, he tells us, and shut themselves up within their walls your well-armed fighting force should advance with its armaments and encamp around them, then wait for a time, not letting anger have free play at the expense of reason, in order that they may take in hand what they have to do in a firmer and steadier spirit. They must therefore 221 at once send heralds to propose terms of agreement and at the same time point out the military efficiency of the besieging power. And if their opponents repent of their rebellious conduct and give way and

war against distant nations, as opposed to the heathen Canaanites, who are to be exterminated. The curious way in which Philo here limits this to war against those who revolt from an alliance, which might perhaps be taken to include breaking treaties in general, can only be explained, I think, as expressing a conviction that the Law could never have intended to sanction wars of conquest or aggression.

τέρισαν μετανοήσαντες ὑπέικωσι πρὸς τὸ εἰρηναῖον
 τραπόμενοι, δεχέσθωσαν ἄσμενοι τὰς σπονδάς·
 εἰρήνη γάρ, καὶ ἡ σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιος, λυσιτε-
 222 λεστέρα πολέμου. ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ἀποτεί-
 νωνται θρασυνομένοι, ῥωσθέντες ταῖς προθυμίαις,
 ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου συμμαχίαν ἀήττητον,
 ἐφορμάτωσαν τὰς ἐλεπόλεις τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφιστάν-
 τες, εἴτα μέρη τούτων παραρρήξαντες ἐπεισχεί-
 σθωσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ βάλλοντες μὲν τοῖς δορατίοις
 εὐστόχως ἐπιστροφάδην δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀναιροῦντες
 ἀφειδῶς ἀμυνέσθωσαν, ἃ παθεῖν ἐμέλλησαν δια-
 τιθέντες, ἄχρισ ἂν τὸν ἀντιτεταγμένον ἅπαντα
 223 στρατὸν ἡβηδὸν καταστορέσωσιν. ἄργυρον δὲ καὶ
 χρυσὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν λαβόντες [καὶ] τὴν
 πόλιν ἐμπρησάτωσαν πῦρ προσαγαγόντες, ἔνεκα
 τοῦ μηδ' αὐθὶς ποτε δυνηθῆναι τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν
 διαπνεύσασαν ἐγερθῆναι καὶ στασιάσαι καὶ ὑπὲρ
 [373] τοῦ νουθετῆσαι φόβῳ τοὺς ὁμόρους, | ἐπειδὴ τοῖς
 ἐτέρων πάθεσιν ἄνθρωποι διδάσκονται σωφρονεῖν·
 παρθένους δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας μεθέσθω-
 σαν, μηδὲν τῶν ὅσα νεωτερίζει πόλεμος ἐξ αὐτῶν
 πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἔνεκα φυσικῆς ἀσθενείας
 224 τετιμημένων ἀστρατεία. ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ὅτι τὸ Ἰου-
 daίων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον μὲν καὶ φίλον πᾶσι τοῖς

^a Verse 11 "they shall become tributary and serve thee," which Philo much softens down.

^b Verse 13. Again much softened down from "thou shalt smite every male thereof," i.e. in the city, not merely the opposing force. On the other hand, burning the city is not

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 221-224

show an inclination to peace, the others must accept and welcome the treaty,^a for peace, even if it involves great sacrifices, is more advantageous than war. But if the adversaries persist in their rashness to the 222 point of madness, they must proceed to the attack invigorated by enthusiasm and having in the justice of their cause an invincible ally. They will plant their engines to command the walls and when they have made breaches in some parts of them pour in altogether and with well-aimed volleys of javelins and with swords which deal death all around them wreak their vengeance without stint, doing to their enemies as the enemies would have done to them, until they have laid the whole opposing army low in a general slaughter.^b Then after taking the silver 223 and gold and the rest of the spoil they must set fire to the city and burn it up, in order that the same city may not after a breathing space rise up and renew its sedition, and also to intimidate and so admonish the neighbouring peoples, for men learn to behave wisely from the sufferings of others. But they must spare the women,^c married and unmarried, since these do not expect to experience at their hands any of the shocks of war as in virtue of their natural weakness they have the privilege of exemption from war service. All this shows clearly 224 that the Jewish nation is ready for agreement and

suggested, except in the case of those who have apostatized from the religion of Jehovah, and then the spoil also is accursed and burnt (Deut. xiii. 16).

^c Here though the Hebrew (*v.* 14) includes the women in the booty, Philo has some authority for his more merciful interpretation in the LXX, which has "thou shalt smite every male, except the women and the stuff (*ἀποσκεύη*)," and then goes on to describe the booty.

ὁμογνώμοσι καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰρηνικοῖς ἐστίν,
 οὐ μὴν εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥς τοῖς ἄρχουσι χειρῶν
 ἀδίκων ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας ἐνδιδόναι, διακρίνει δ', ὅποτε
 πρὸς ἄμυναν ἴοι, τοὺς ἐπιβούλως ζῶντας καὶ τοῦ-
 225 ναντίον· τὸ γὰρ κατὰ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐλάχιστα ἢ
 μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότων φονᾶν εἵπομι' ἂν ἀνημέρου καὶ
 ἀτιθάσου ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ προσθήκην ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον
 κατασκευασάντων ποιεῖσθαι γυναῖκας, ὧν ὁ βίος
 226 εἰρηνικὸς φύσει καὶ κατοικίδιος. τοσοῦ-
 τον δ' ἔρωτα δικαιοσύνης ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς κατ'
 αὐτὸν πολιτευομένοις, ὥστ' οὐδὲ πόλεως ἐχθρᾶς
 τὴν ἀρετῶσαν γῆν ἐφίησι λυμαίνεσθαι δηοῦντας ἢ
 227 δενδροτομοῦντας ἐπὶ φθορᾷ καρπῶν. "τί" γάρ
 φησι "τοῖς ἀψύχοις μὲν τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἡμέροις καὶ
 ἡμέρους καρποὺς ἀπογεννῶσι μνησικακεῖς; μὴ
 γάρ, ὦ οὗτος, ἀνθρώπου πολεμίου δυσμένειαν
 ἐπιδείκνυται δένδρον, ὥς ἀνθ' ὧν διατίθῃσιν ἢ
 διατιθέναι παρεσκεύασται ρίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνα-
 228 σπᾶσθαι; τοῦναντίον δὲ ὠφελεῖ παρέχον τοῖς
 νενικηκόσιν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς
 ἀβροδίατον βίον· οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι μόνον δασμοὺς
 φέρουσι τοῖς κυρίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτὰ τοὺς ὠφελιμω-
 τέρους κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας, ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ
 229 ἐστίν." ἀγόνων δὲ καὶ ἐστερωμένων καὶ τῶν ὅσα¹
 τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης ἔστω μηδεμία φειδῶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι

¹ MSS. ὅσα τῶν et alia.

^a Deut. xx. 19 f.

^b Verse 20 "Is the tree of the field man, that it should be besieged of thee?" The LXX in the last part has εἰσελθεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου σου εἰς τὸν χάρακα ("enter before thee into siege-work"), which may mean like the Hebrew "to be besieged," but might easily be taken to mean "besiege," whence Philo's "show ill will."

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 224-229

friendship with all like-minded nations whose intentions are peaceful, yet is not of the contemptible kind which surrenders through cowardice to wrongful aggression. When it takes up arms it distinguishes between those whose life is one of hostility and the reverse. For to breathe slaughter against all, 225 even those who have done very little or nothing amiss, shows what I should call a savage and brutal soul, and the same may be said of counting women, whose life is naturally peaceful and domestic, to be accessories to men who have brought about the war.

Indeed so great a love for justice 226 does the law instil into those who live under its constitution that it does not even permit the fertile soil of a hostile city to be outraged by devastation or by cutting down trees to destroy the fruits.^a "For 227 why," it says, "do you bear a grudge against things which though lifeless are kindly in nature and produce kindly fruits? Does a tree, I ask you, show ill will to the human enemy that it should be pulled up roots and all, to punish it for ill which it has done or is ready to do to you?"^b On the 228 contrary it benefits you by providing the victors with abundance both of necessities^c and of the comforts which ensure a life of luxury. For not only men but plants also pay tributes to their lords as the seasons come round, and theirs are the more profitable since without them life is impossible. But as to the trees which have never 229 had or have lost the power to bear fruit and all the wild type there should be no stinting in cutting them

^a As the trees include vines and olives, they provide necessities. The other fruits give the comfortable life (*cf. De Praem.* 107).

τέμνειν εἰς χαρακώματα καὶ σταυροὺς καὶ σκό-
λοπας τάφροις¹ καί, ὅποτε δέοι, κλιμάκων καὶ
πύργων ξυλίνων κατασκευάς· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ
τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτῶν χρεία προσ-
ήκουσα.

- 230 XLII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἀναφερόμενα
εἴρηται. δικαιοσύνην δ' αὐτὴν τίς ἂν ἀξίως
ποιητῆς ἢ λογογράφος ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο παντὸς
ἐπαίνου καὶ παντὸς ἐγκωμίου κρείττονα καθεστῶ-
σαν; ἔν γοῦν τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἀγαθὸν αὐτῆς, ἡ
εὐγένεια, κἂν τᾶλλα τις παραλιπὼν ἡσυχάζῃ,
231 γένοιτ' ἂν αὐταρκέστατος ἔπαινος. ἔστι γὰρ
ισότης, ὡς οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἀκριβοῦντες ἡμῖν παρ-
έδοσαν, μήτηρ δικαιοσύνης. ἰσότης δὲ φῶς ἄσκιον,
ἡλιος, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, νοητός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ
τοῦναντίον ἀνισότης, ἐν ᾗ² τό τε ὑπερέχον καὶ τὸ
232 ὑπερεχόμενον, σκότους ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγὴ. πάντα
ισότης τὰ τε κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς εὖ
διατάξατο νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις. τίς γὰρ
[374] ἀγνοεῖ τοῦθ', ὅτι | ἡλίῳ μεμέτρηνται πρὸς νύκτας
ἡμέραι καὶ πρὸς ἡμέρας νύκτες ἰσότητι διαστη-
233 μάτων ἀναλογούντων; τὰς μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος προσαγορευομένας
ἰσημερίας, ἑαρινὴν τε καὶ μετοπωρινήν, οὕτως ἡ
φύσις ἐτράνωσεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀμουσοτάτους αἰ-
σθάνεσθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἡμερῶν πρὸς
234 νύκτας ἰσότητος. τί δέ, σελήνης περίοδοι διαυ-
λοδρομούσης ἀπὸ συνόδου μέχρι πλησιφαοῦς καὶ

¹ Some mss. καὶ τάφρους. See note a.

² mss. ἐν ᾧ (= φ).

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 229-234

down at will for siege works and stakes and pales for entrenchment^a and when necessary for constructing ladders and wooden towers. For these and similar purposes will be a fitting use to which to put them.

XLII. So much then for the rules which come 230 under the head of justice. But as for justice itself what writer in verse or prose could worthily sing its praise, standing as it does superior to all that eulogy or panegyric can say? Indeed one, and that the most august, of its glories, its high lineage, would be a self-sufficient matter for praise if all the rest were left untold. For the mother of justice is equality,^b as 231 the masters of natural philosophy^c have handed down to us, and equality is light unclouded, a spiritual sun we may truly call it, just as its opposite, inequality, in which one thing exceeds or is exceeded by another is the source and fountain of darkness. All things in heaven and earth have been ordered 232 aright by equality under immovable laws and statutes, for who does not know that the relation of days to nights and nights to days is regulated by the sun according to intervals of proportional equality? The 233 dates in spring and autumn every year, whose name of equinoxes is derived from the facts observed, are so clearly marked out by nature that even the least learned perceive the equality of length in the days and nights. Again are not the cycles of the moon, 234 as she runs her course backwards and forwards from

^a I can hardly think that Philo would use the dative in this way. But the other reading *καὶ τὰ φρούρα* is not very suitable. Perhaps *ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρα*.

^b Cf. *De Plant.* 122 *δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἰσότης ἔτεκε*; *Quis Rerum* 163 *ἰσότητα τὴν δικαιοσύνης τροφόν*.

^c Presumably the Pythagoreans. See App. p. 437.

ἀπὸ τελείας ἐπὶ σύνοδον ἄρ' οὐ διαστημάτων
 ἰσότητι μεμέτρηται; καθ' ὅσα γὰρ καὶ ἡλίκαι αἱ
 συναυξήσεις, κατὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικάυτα αἱ
 μειώσεις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ἰδέαις τοῦ ποσοῦ, τῇ τε
 235 κατὰ πλήθος καὶ τῇ κατὰ μέγεθος. ὥς γε μὴν ἐν
 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας, οὐρανῷ, διαφερόντως
 ἰσότης τετίμηται, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ γείτονι ἀέρι·
 τετραχῇ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ διαιρεθέντος εἰς τὰς
 καλουμένας ἐτησίους ὥρας, τρέπεσθαι καὶ μετα-
 βάλλειν ὁ ἀῆρ πέφυκεν ἐν ταῖς τροπαῖς καὶ μετα-
 βολαῖς ἄλεκτον ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν ἀταξία τάξιν·
 ἰσαριθμοῖς γὰρ μηνσὶ διακρινόμενος εἰς τε χειμῶνα
 καὶ ἔαρ θέρος τε καὶ μετόπωρον, τρισὶν εἰς ἐκάστην
 ὥραν, ἐκπληροῖ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅς, καθάπερ¹ αὐτὸ
 μὴνύει τοῦνομα, αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα περιέχει
 συμπεραιούμενος, ἐτέρως οὐκ ἂν τοῦτ' ἐργάσασθαι
 δυνηθείς, εἰ μὴ ταῖς ἐτησίοις ὥραις αὐτὸν ἐπ-
 236 ἔχρησεν. ἰσότης <δ> ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ
 μεταρσίων καὶ πρὸς τὰπίγεια τέταται,² τὴν μὲν
 ἀκραιφνή φύσιν ἑαυτῆς αἰθέρος οὐσαν ἀγχίσπορον
 ἄνω μετέωρον διαίρουσα, τὴν δ' ὥσπερ αὐγὴν
 ἡλίου τρόπον <ἐπὶ γῆν>³ ἀποστέλλουσα, δεύτερον
 237 φέγγος. ὅσα γὰρ πλημμελεῖ μὲν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν,
 ἀνισότης, ὅσα δὲ τάξιν ἔχει τὴν προσήκουσαν,
 ἰσότης ἀπειργάσατο, ἥτις ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς
 οὐσίᾳ, κυριώτατα φάναι, κόσμος ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ

¹ MSS. ὡς καθάπερ.² MSS. τέτακται.³ This insertion of Cohn's is perhaps hardly necessary, if ποστέλλουσα = "sending away."

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 234-237

the conjunction to the full orb and from her consummation to the conjunction, regulated on the principle of equal intervals? The sum total of her phases and their sizes are exactly the same in her waxing and waning, and so correspond in both forms of quantity, namely number and magnitude. And as equality has 235 received special honour in heaven, the purest part of all that exists, so has it also in heaven's neighbour, the air. The fourfold partition of the year into what we call the annual seasons involves changes and alternations in the air and in these changes and alternations it shows a marvellous order in disorder. For as it is divided by an equal number of months into winter, spring, summer and autumn, three for each season, it carries the year to its fulfilment and the year, as the name *ἐνιαυτός*^a indicates, contains as it runs to its completion everything in itself, which it would not have been able to do if it had not accepted the law^b of the annual seasons. But equality stretches 236 down from the celestial and aerial regions to the terrestrial too. The pure part of its being which is akin to ether it raises into the heights, but another part sun-like it sends earth-wards as a ray, a secondary brightness. For all that goes amiss in our life is the 237 work of inequality, and all that keeps its due order is of equality, which in the universe as a whole is most properly called the cosmos,^c in cities and states is

^a Plato, *Cratylus* 410 D.

^b Lit. "lent it itself," "put itself at the service of." Both Mangey and Heinemann seem to suppose that it means "helped itself with" or "made use of." But no such usage is recorded of the active verb, either in this compound or the uncompounded *χράω*.

^c Or "cosmic system." See on § 210.

PHILO

ἄστεσιν ἡ εὐνομωτάτη καὶ πολιτειῶν ἀρίστη
δημοκρατία, ἔν τε αὖ σώμασιν ὑγεία καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς
καλοκάγαθία· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄνισον ἔμπαλιν νόσων
238 καὶ κακιῶν αἴτιον. ἐπιλείψει καὶ τὸν μακροβιώ-
τατον ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάντας ἐθελήσῃ τοὺς ἐπαίνους
ισότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἣν ἐγέννησε διεξιέναι·
παρό μοι δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν
ἀρκεσθέντα, τοῦ διακινήσαι χάριν τὴν τῶν φιλεπι-
στημόνων μνήμην, τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων
ἀνάγραπτα ψυχαῖς καταλιπεῖν, ἱερωτάτῳ χωρίῳ
θεῖα ἀγάλματα.

THE SPECIAL LAWS, IV. 237-238

democracy,^a the most law-abiding and best of constitutions, in bodies is health and in souls virtuous conduct. For inequality on the other hand is the cause of sicknesses and vices. But since if one should wish to tell in full all the praises of equality and her offspring justice the time will fail him, be his life of the longest, it seems better to me to content myself with what has been said to awake the memory in the lovers of knowledge, and to leave the rest to be recorded in their souls, the holiest dwelling place for the jewels^b of God.

^a See note on *Quod Deus* 176 (vol. iii. p. 489) and further App. p. 437.

^b See on § 76.

ON THE VIRTUES
(DE VIRTUTIBUS)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE VIRTUTIBUS*

Courage or Manliness

True courage is knowledge, not the savage passions so often exhibited in war but the courage shown by persons who in spite of bodily infirmities exercise their minds for the benefit of others (1-4). There are many circumstances which call out this courage: poverty is combated by contentment with the simple wealth which nature supplies (5-7), though there is also the higher wealth of wisdom (8-9); obscurity or insignificance is not of any importance if we have the esteem of the wise (10-11), nor disability of the senses if we have the sight of the mind (12), nor disease if the soul is healthy (13-14). Courage is the quality which enables us to despise all these (15-17). How essential this virtue of courage or manliness is is suggested by the law when it even forbids a man to assume a woman's dress (18-21).

Courage in peace time is inculcated everywhere in the law, but we must see what it says about courage in war (22). Observe that the cowardly are not to be enrolled in the army (23-26), nor yet those who would naturally be just entering on some new undertaking which would distract their interest (27-31). The warriors that Moses looks for are men of sound and active body and having the gallantry which prefers a glorious death to a life of dishonour (32-33). Such must have been the twelve thousand selected for the war with Midian, and Philo now tells the story of that war from its beginning: the seduction of many Israelites by means of the Midianite women (34-40) and the punishment which deterred the rest from following their example (41), and how the small army enlisted by Moses to avenge the sin of the seducers won a complete victory over vastly greater numbers without losing a man (42-44). This victory due to the support

ON THE VIRTUES

of God agrees with the promise given in Deuteronomy that obedience to the law will secure success in war (45-50).

Humanity

Humanity or kindness is the twin of piety, and the life and legislation of Moses is the best illustration it can have, but before going on to the latter we may mention incidents at the close of his career which were not noted in the two books which told the story of his life (51-52). Philo now proceeds to show how Moses knowing his end was near would not bequeath the succession to his family or even to his friend and lieutenant Joshua without consulting God (53-65), and how when the choice of Joshua had been divinely approved he charged him before the congregation (66-69), thereby showing how every ruler should train and encourage his successor (70-71), and then broke into the Great Song (72-75) followed by the Blessing of the Tribes (76-79). He now passes on to give some examples of the humanity of the Mosaic law (80-81). Loans are to be made to Israelites without exacting interest (82-87), wages are to be paid on the same day (88), the creditor is not to enter the debtor's house to seize a pledge (89), the gleaning of the harvest of corn, grapes and olives is to be left to the poor (90-94), the first fruits of the crops and herds are to be set aside (95), a straying animal is to be kept and restored to its owner (96), the produce in the sabbatical year is to be free to the poor (97-98) and landed possessions are to be restored to the original owner in the year of Jubile (99-100). These are only specimens of the kindness to be shown to brother Israelites (101). Next we have the humanity to be shown, as inculcated throughout the law, to strangers who are assumed to be proselytes to the faith (102-104) and to the settlers who enter without this recommendation (105-108). Also to enemies there is the injunction not to make war without attempting reconciliation (109), and to treat women captives with respect (110-115) and in private life to extend the duty of protecting or restoring animals to enemies and thereby possibly ending a feud (116-118); all these show how the great purpose of the Mosaic Law is to increase peace and brotherhood (119-120).

So far the persons to whom this kindness is to be rendered

PHILO

are free men, but slaves also should have the same. A person reduced to that condition by poverty is to be liberated in the seventh year (121-123) and even those born in slavery are not to be rejected if they come as suppliants to another (124).

Kindness to animals is enjoined by the ordinance that the offspring is to be left with its mother for seven days, which coupled with Nature's provision of milk for the new born creature should make the infanticides reflect on the wickedness of their conduct (125-133). The same lesson is given by the law that mother and offspring are not to be killed on the same day, an action against which all decent feeling revolts (134-136), and it is a corollary of this law that no animal should be killed while pregnant (137-138). On the same principle some legislators have forbidden pregnant women condemned to death to be executed till the child is born, and Moses by extending this mercifulness to animals implies that *a fortiori* consideration in every way is due to our fellow men. He thus convicts the libellers who accuse the Jews of misanthropy (139-141). A still more striking example of this mercifulness is the prohibition against seething the lamb in its mother's milk (142-144), also the laws against muzzling the ox while treading out the corn (145) and against yoking animals of unequal strength together (146-147).

Finally there is kindness to plants, shown by prohibiting devastation of crops in general and even those of enemies in war (148-154), and careful nursing of the young plants till the fourth year, before which the fruit may not be picked (155-159). Plants, animals, men—from consideration of the lowest we rise to consideration for the highest (160).

All these injunctions are levelled against the vice of pride or arrogance (161-164) which Moses denounces when he bids us use all gifts "to make power," that is to promote the same powers in others (165-170), and also tells us that God is "provoked by the presumptuousness" which thinks itself divine, ascribes to itself all virtues and gifts and denies them to all others (171-174).

Repentance

In this short sermon the value of repentance as the "second best" is insisted on, as shown primarily in those who are converted from idolatry and must be treated with all friendli-

160

ON THE VIRTUES

ness (175-179) and in general by passing from disobedience to obedience to the law which is not far off but in our "mouth, hand and heart" (180-184), and by "choosing" God, a choice which makes each single man his people (185-186).

Nobility

The first part of this treatise is a discussion of the theme that the truly well-born or noble is the wise man, and the truly ignoble or ill-born the fool, as shown by the fact that the possession of gifted and virtuous ancestors does not benefit us if we do not inherit those gifts or follow those virtues (187-197). This is illustrated from Genesis, first, by degenerate sons of good parents. Adam was nobly born yet begat Cain (198-200); Noah begat Ham (201-202), indeed Adam himself was the son of God but fell (203-205). These belong to mankind in general. In Jewish history we find that Abraham's sons except Isaac were of little worth (206-207), and Esau was the son of Isaac (208-210). Secondly, by good children of bad or inferior parentage. Abraham's parents were astrologers and idolaters; yet how wonderful was his life and personality (211-219); and so with women also. Tamar who came from a heathen family lived an honourable life (220-222), and the concubines of Jacob, though originally slave girls, were promoted to honour and their children ranked with those of lawful wives (223-225). In fact the only sound doctrine is that everyone is to be judged by his conduct and not by his descent (226-227).

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΑΣ ΣΥΝ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΑΝΕ-
ΓΡΑΨΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝ-
ΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝ-
ΘΡΩΠΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ

Περὶ ἀνδρείας

¹
[375] I. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ὅσα
καίρια πρότερον εἰπὼν μέτειμι τῶν ἐξῆς ἐπ' ἀν-
δρείαν, οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρειμάνιον
λύτταν ὀργῇ συμβούλῳ χρωμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπι-
²στήμην. θράσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπαιρόμενοί τινες, συμ-
πρατούσης σωματικῆς ἰσχύος, ταχθέντες κατὰ
πόλεμον ἐν ταῖς παντευχίαις ἡβηδὸν μυρίους ὅσους
τῶν ἀντιπάλων κατέβαλον, ἀνοίκειον μὲν εὖφημον
δ' ἀριστείας ὄνομα καρπωσάμενοι, διαφερόντως ὑπὸ
[376] τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα | κρινόντων εὐκλεεῖς νίκη νομι-
σθέντες, ἄγριοι καὶ θηριώδεις ἐκ φύσεως καὶ
μελέτης γεγονότες, αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου δεδιψη-
³κότες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ διατρί-
βοντες, τῶν σωμάτων αὐτοῖς ἢ μακραῖς νόσοις ἢ
ἐπιπόνῳ γήρᾳ κατεσκελετευμένων, ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ

ON THE VIRTUES

ON VIRTUES WHICH TOGETHER WITH OTHERS WERE
DESCRIBED BY MOSES OR ON COURAGE AND PIETY
AND HUMANITY AND REPENTANCE^a

On Courage

I. The subject of justice and all the relevant points 1
which the occasion requires have already been dis-
cussed, and I will take courage next in the sequence.
By courage I mean, not what most people under-
stand, namely the rabid war fever which takes anger
for its counsellor, but the courage which is knowledge.^b
For some under the stimulus of reckless daring, sup- 2
ported by bodily strength and marshalled in full
armour for war, lay low multitudes of antagonists in
a general slaughter and win the well-sounding but
little deserved name of noble achievement, yet though
their victory makes them exceedingly glorious in the
eyes of those who pass judgement on such matters,
nature and practice have combined to make them
savage and bestial in their thirst for human blood.

But there are others who live on in 3
their homes with their bodies worn to a thread by
long sickness or the burden of old age, yet healthy

^a On this title see App. p. 440.

^b Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 145.

- νεάζοντες τῷ κρείττονι μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς¹ μεστοί τε φρονήματος καὶ θαρραλεωτάτης γέμοντες εὐτολμίας, ἀμυντηρίων ὅπλων μηδ' ὄναρ ψαύοντες, βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν κοινωφελεστάταις εἰσηγήσεσι τά τε ἴδια ἐκάστων καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πατρίδων πεσόντα πολλάκις ἀνώρθωσαν, ἀνενδότοις καὶ ἀκαμπέσι χρησάμενοι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος
- 4 λογισμοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀληθῆ διαπινοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν ἀσκηταὶ σοφίας ὄντες, ἐκείνοι δὲ τὴν ψευδώνυμον ἀμαθία,² νόσω δυσθεραπεύτῳ, βιοῦντες, ἣν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν τις προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι τὸ παράσημον ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνης.³
- 5 II. Οὐκ ὀλίγα μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα δυσυπομόνητα τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὠμολόγηται, πενία καὶ ἀδοξία καὶ πῆρωσις καὶ νόσων ἰδέαι πολύτροποι, πρὸς αἷς οἱ μὲν ὀλιγόφρονες μαλακίζονται, μηδ' ὅσον ὑπ' ἀτολμίας ἐγερθῆναι δυνάμενοι, ὅσοι δὲ φρονήσεως ὑπόπλεω καὶ γενναιότητος ἐπαποδύονται καρτερῶς καὶ σφόδρα ἐρρωμένως ἀντιφιλονεοῦντες, τὰς ἀπειλὰς καὶ ἐπανατάσεις αὐτῶν πολὺν

¹ Perhaps τῇ ψυχῇ, see note a.

² mss. ἀμαθίαν.

³ I can hardly think that the text of these two lines is right. φασὶν cannot = καλοῦσι, and εἶναι is required. This, which could easily fall out after ἐμφέρειαν, might be supplied, but the question would still remain whether the abstract noun ἐμφέρεια can be used for the corresponding concrete as the English "likeness" is. I should like to read and punctuate ἣν θρασύτητα κυρίως ἂν προσαγορεύσειεν, ὥσπερ φασὶν ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι, τὸ παράσημον <ἔχον> ἐμφέρειαν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰκόνης. See note b.

ON THE VIRTUES, 3-5

and youthful in the better part of the soul,^a brimful of highmindedness and staunchest valour. They never even dream of touching weapons of defence, but render the highest service to the commonwealth by the excellent advice which they put forward, and guided by unflinching and unswerving consideration of what is profitable, restore what had broken down in the personal life of each individual and in the public life of their country. These then ⁴ who train themselves in wisdom cultivate the true courage. The courage of those others, whose life is distempered by an ignorance that resists all treatment, is falsely so named and should properly be called reckless daring, as in the case of coins where we say that the counterfeit is a likeness of the true type.^b

II. Further there are many other conditions in ⁵ human life admittedly hard to bear, poverty and disrepute and disablement and sickness in its manifold forms, in the face of which those of little wit all grow craven-hearted, lacking the valour even to raise themselves. But those who are full of wisdom and highmindedness gallantly gird themselves for the struggle and resist the foe with all their strength, counting his

^a Or if $\tau\eta\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is read, "the better part, the soul." Cohn in his translation definitely adopts this, *cf.* § 30. The antithesis to $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ no doubt points to this, but it must be remembered that the idea that the mind or understanding is the better part of the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ constantly recurs in Philo, and is emphasized below in § 187, *cf.* also § 85. Here it is particularly appropriate because the courage we are discussing belongs to $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$. I am inclined to retain the genitive.

^b Or if the reading and punctuation in note 3 is adopted, "reckless daring," the counterfeit (to use the term which we apply to coins) of the true type whose semblance it bears.

γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην τιθέμενοι, πενία μὲν πλοῦτον ἀντιτάττοντες, οὐ τὸν τυφλὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ὀξὺ καθ-
 ορώωντα, οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ κειμήλια ψυχὴ πέφυκε
 6 ταμιεύειν. μυρίους γὰρ πενία κατεπάλαισεν, οἱ
 τρόπον ἀθλητῶν ἀπειρηκότων ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας κατ-
 έπεσον μαλακισθέντες· ἐνδεῆς δὲ παρ' ἀληθείᾳ
 δικαζούσῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστὶ χορηγὸν ἔχων
 τὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀκαθαίρετον πλοῦτον· ἀέρα μὲν,
 τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ συνεχῇ τροφήν,
 ἀδιαστάτως μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ἀναπνεό-
 μενον, ἔπειτα δὲ πηγὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ ποταμῶν οὐ
 χειμάρρων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθιγενῶν ρεῖθρα ἀέναα
 πρὸς ποτοῦ χρήσιν, ἔπειτα εἰς ἐδωδὴν φορὰς
 παντοίων καρπῶν καὶ δένδρων ιδέας, αἱ τὰς ἐτη-
 σίους ὁπώρας αἰεὶ φέρουσι· τούτων γὰρ ἄπορος
 οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἄγουσι
 7 περιουσίαν. εἰ δέ τινες τὸν τῆς φύσεως
 πλοῦτον παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενοι τὸν τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν
 διώκουσι, τυφλῶ πρὸ βλέποντος σκηριπτόμενοι καὶ
 ἡγεμόνι τῆς ὁδοῦ χρώμενοι πεπηρωμένῳ, πίπτειν
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλουσιν.

8 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ σώματος δορυφόρος πλοῦτος
 φύσεως εὖρημα καὶ δῶρον ὧν ἤδη λέλεκται. τὸν
 δὲ σεμνότερον, ὃς οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθῶς
 σεμνοῖς καὶ θεσπεσίοις ἀνδράσι πρόσεστι, μηνυτέον.

^a Plato, *Laws* 631 c. See note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 25, vol. vii. p. 615.

^b The "wealth of nature," which is to be distinguished from the spiritual wealth of wisdom (see § 8), is described again in *De Praem.* 99, cf. *De Som.* i. 124 ff., where it is identified with the "bread and raiment" for which Jacob prayed.

ON THE VIRTUES, 5-8

threats and menaces a matter for much scorn and derision. Against poverty they pit riches, not the blind but the keen-sighted riches,^a whose jewels and treasures have their natural store-house in the soul. For under the grip of poverty multitudes have been 6 laid low, and like exhausted athletes have fallen to the ground enfeebled by lack of manliness. Yet in the judgement of truth not a single one is in want, for his needs are supplied by the wealth of nature,^b which cannot be taken from him ; the air, the first, the most vital, the perpetual source of sustenance, which we inhale continually night and day ; then the fountains in their profusion and the rivers spring-fed as well as winter brooks ever flowing to provide us with drink ; then again for our meat, the harvest of crops of every sort, and the different kinds of trees, which never fail to bear their annual autumn fruitage. These no one lacks, but everybody everywhere has an ample and more than ample sufficiency.

But some making no account of the 7 wealth of nature pursue the wealth of vain opinions. They choose to lean on one who lacks rather than one who has the gift of sight, and with this defective guidance to their steps must of necessity fall.

III. So much for the wealth that is the guardsman 8 of the body, the happy gift of nature,^c but we must mention also the higher, nobler wealth, which does not belong to all, but to truly noble and divinely

Here Philo seems to allow it a place in the "seeing wealth" (see § 7), though elsewhere that is an epithet reserved for spiritual wealth. It guards the body against poverty, but not against the other bodily ills enumerated in §§ 10-15.

^c The translation takes *εὐρημα* in the common sense of "godsend" or "prize." Otherwise "the thing which nature discovers and gives."

[377] τοῦτον τὸν πλοῦτον | σοφία χορηγεί διὰ λογικῶν
καὶ ἠθικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δογμάτων καὶ θεωρη-
μάτων, ἐξ ὧν φύεσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς συμβέβηκεν, αἱ
τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποτέμνονται τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐκολίας
καὶ ὀλιγοδείας ἔρωτας ἐντίκτουσαι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
9 θεὸν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀνεπιδεής,
οὐδενὸς χρεῖος ὢν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐταρκέστατος
ἑαυτῷ· ὁ δὲ φαῦλος πολυδεής, αἰεὶ διψῶν τῶν
ἀπόντων ἀπλήστου καὶ ἀκορέστου χάριν ἐπιθυμίας,
ἣν πυρὸς τρόπον ἀναρριπίζων καὶ ἀναφλέγων ἐπὶ
πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα τείνει· ὁ δὲ σπου-
δαῖος ὀλιγοδεής, ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως
μεθόριος, τὸ μὲν ἐπιδεές ἔχων διὰ σῶμα θνητόν, τὸ
δὲ μὴ πολυδεές διὰ ψυχὴν ἐφιεμένην ἀθανασίας.

10 οὕτως μὲν πενία πλοῦτον ἀντιτάτ-
τουσιν· ἀδοξία δὲ εὐκλειαν· ὁ γὰρ ἔπαινος ὁρμητή-
ριον ἔχων καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ ἀενάου
πηγῆς ἐκείθεν ῥέων ἀνεξετάστων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἐνομιλεῖ πλήθεσι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνωμαλίας ἀβε-
βαίους φωναῖς ἀπογυμνοῦν εἰωθότων, ἃς ἔστιν ὅτε
λημμάτων αἰσχυρῶν ἐπευννίζοντες οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν
κατὰ τῶν ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγομένων. ὀλίγος δὲ
τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐστίν· ἀρετὴ γὰρ οὐ πολύχουν ἐν
11 θνητῷ γένει. πηρώσει γε μὴν αἰσθή-
σεων, ἥ συζῶντες ἔτι μυρίοι προαπέθανον τῷ μηδέν

^a For the triple division of philosophy see note on *Spec. Leg.* i. 336 and the references there given.

^b Or "as befits its assimilation," *i.e.* it is part of the process which the sage goes through in his endeavour to resemble God. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 and § 168 below.

^c Or perhaps a stronger word as "glory," *i.e.* in the eyes of the wise, not a glory which implies celebrity. On the contrary, the multitude are more likely to abuse such people.

ON THE VIRTUES, 8-11

gifted men. This wealth is bestowed by wisdom through the doctrines and principles of ethic, logic and physic,^a and from these spring the virtues, which rid the soul of its proneness to extravagance, and engender the love of contentment and frugality, which will assimilate it to God.^b For God has no 9 wants, He needs nothing, being in Himself all-sufficient to Himself, while the fool has many wants, ever thirsting for what is not there, longing to gratify his greedy and insatiable desire, which he fans into a blaze like a fire and brings both great and small within its reach. But the man of worth has few wants, standing midway between mortality and immortality. Some wants he has because his body is mortal, many he has not in virtue of his soul, which desires immortality. This is the way in which the wise 10 pit riches against poverty. Against disrepute they pit good fame,^c for the praise which has its fountain head in noble conduct, flowing thence as from a perennial spring, has no currency among the unthinking masses, whose habit is to expose the inconsistencies of their souls by random talk, often in order to purchase some shameful reward unblushingly directed against these men of choicest merit.^d But the number of these is small, for virtue is not widespread among mortal kind. Again there 11 is disablement of the senses. To live with this has

So in *De Sob.* 57 the sage is not *ἐνδοξος* but *εὐκλεής*, where perhaps the translation "not merely of high report" may have missed the sense.

^a More literally "picked out as the best," an odd phrase here, since usually it refers to actual selection, *cf. e.g.* § 42. That it does not mean this here nor imply that the multitude are apt to speak evil of dignities, but refers to the wise *εὐκλεεῖς*, is shown by *τούτων κτλ.* in the next sentence.

- ἀλεξίκακον εὐρεῖν δύνασθαι φάρμακον, ἀντικάθηται
φρόνησις, τὸ κρατιστεῦον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἐνομματοῦσα
διάνοιαν, ἣ πρὸς ὀξυωπίαν τῶν σώματος ὀφθαλμῶν
12 ὄλῳ, φασί, καὶ τῷ παντὶ διενήνοχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ὁρατῶν καταθεῶνται, ἅμα
δεόμενοι φωτὸς ἔξωθεν, ἣ δὲ καὶ διὰ βάθους χωρεῖ
τῶν σωμάτων, ὅλα δι' ὅλων καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν
μερῶν ἀκριβοῦσα καὶ περιαθροῦσα καὶ τὰς τῶν
ἀσωμάτων φύσεις, ὥς ἐπισκοπεῖν αἰσθησις ἀδυ-
νατεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ πᾶσαν ὀξυωπίαν ὀφθαλμοῦ
καταλαμβάνει, μὴ προσδεομένη νόθου φωτός, ἀστὴρ
οὔσα αὐτὴ καὶ σχεδὸν τι τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἀπεικό-
13 νισμα καὶ μίμημα. νόσοι γε μὴν σω-
μάτων ὑγιαίνουσης ψυχῆς ἥκιστα βλάπτουσιν· ὑγεία
δὲ ψυχῆς εὐκρασία δυνάμεων ἐστὶ τῆς τε κατὰ τὸν
θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπικρα-
τούσης τῆς λογικῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἀφηνιαστὰς ἵππους
14 ἡνιοχούσης ἐκατέρας. ὄνομα ταύτης ἴδιον τῆς
[378] ὑγείας ἐστὶ σωφροσύνη, σωτηρίαν τῷ | φρονοῦντι
τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεργαζομένη· κινδυνεῦον γὰρ αὐτὸ
πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν φορᾶς κατακλύζεσθαι
ὑποβρύχιον οὐκ ἐᾷ χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέλκει καὶ
μετέωρον ἐξαίρει ψυχοῦσα καὶ ζωογονοῦσα καὶ
τρόπον τινὰ ἀπαθανατίζουσα.

^a Lit. "excels by the whole and all." The addition of φασί suggests that the phrase is colloquial.

^b For the triple division of the soul cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 92 and note. In the "restive horses" there is an allusion to the parable in Plato, *Phaedrus* 253 D, where the charioteer is to be

ON THE VIRTUES, 11-14

been premature death to thousands, because they can find no medicine to protect them against its ills. Its opponent is wisdom, the best quality we have, which plants eyes in the mind, and the mind in keenness of vision excels the eyes of the body so that they, as people say, are a "mere nothing"^a in comparison. The body's eyes observe the surfaces of things visible 12 and need the external help of light, but the mind penetrates through the depth of material things, accurately observing their whole contents and their several parts, surveying also the nature of things immaterial, which sense is unable to descry. For we may say that it achieves all the keenness of vision, which an eye can have, without needing any adventitious light, itself a star and, we may say, a copy and likeness of the heavenly company. Again 13 diseases of the body, if the soul is healthy, do very little harm. And the health of the soul is to have its faculties, reason, high spirit and desire happily tempered, with the reason in command and reigning in both the other two, like restive horses.^b The 14 special name of this health is temperance, that is σωφροσύνη or "thought-preserving,"^c for it creates a preservation of one of our powers, namely, that of wise-thinking. For often when that power is in danger of being submerged by the tide of the passions, this spiritual health prevents it from being lost in the depths and pulls it up and lifts it on high, vitalizing and quickening it, and giving it a kind of immortality.

interpreted as reason, and the two horses as high spirit and desire, a parable interpreted in the same sense also by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 72 f.

^c Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 411 E σωφροσύνη δὲ σωτηρία . . . φρονήσεως.

- 15 Πάντα δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑφηγήσεις εἰσὶ καὶ διδασκαλῖαι πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐστηλιτευμένοι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπειθεῖς μαλακώτερον ἀναπείθουσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθεστέρους ἐμβριθέστερον καταφρονεῖν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ἐκτός, ἔν μὲν τέλος ἡγουμένους τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν βιοῦν, ζηλοῦντας δὲ καὶ
- 16 τὰλλα ὅσα ἀγωγὰ πρὸς τοῦτο. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ διὰ τῶν προτέρων ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστα διεξεληλυθὼς τῶν εἰς ἀτυφίαν, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἀπομηκύνειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνυφαίνων καὶ συνείρων τὰ δοκοῦντα σποράδην κεῖσθαι ἐν τόποις διαφέρουσιν· εἰρηκῶς
- 17 δ' ὅσα καιρὸς παλιλλογεῖν οὐ δικαιῶ.¹ τοὺς μέντοι μὴ ἀποκοῦντας ἀλλὰ διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένους ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς πρὸ τούτων βίβλοις δεῖ νοῆσαι, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ ἀτυφίας λεχθέντα σχεδόν ἐστι περὶ ἀνδρείας, ἐπειδὴ περ εὐτόνου καὶ γενναίας καὶ σφόδρα νενευρωμένης ψυχῆς ἐστι καταφρονῆσαι πάντων ὅσα τῷ φος εἴωθε σεμνοποιεῖν ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βίου.
- 18 IV. Τοσαύτη δέ τίς ἐστι τῷ νόμῳ σπουδὴ καὶ φιλοτιμία περὶ τοῦ γυμνάσαι καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ψυχὴν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐσθημάτων ὅποια ἐχρῆν ἀμπέχεσθαι διετάξατο ἀπειπῶν ἀνὰ κράτος ἀνδρὶ γυναικὸς ἀμπεχόνην ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἵχνος ἢ σκιὰν αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦ θήλεος ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς ἄρσενος γενεᾶς προσάφασθαι· βούλεται γὰρ ἐπόμενος ἀεὶ τῇ φύσει τὰ οἰκεία καὶ συνωδὰ ἀλλήλοις ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ δι' εὐτέλειαν
- 19 ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκούντων νομοθετεῖν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τύπους σωμάτων ἐώρα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάτους

¹ MSS. δικαίων or δίκαιον.

ON THE VIRTUES, 15-19

All the above are lessons and instructions, which 15 stand recorded in many places of the law, urging the tractable in gentle, the intractable in sterner terms to despise the bodily and external goods, holding the life of virtue to be the one sole end and pursuing after everything else that is conducive to it. And if I 16 had not in my earlier writings dealt fully with each of the rules which promote simplicity, I would attempt to dilate on them at this point, and embrace in a collected list the scattered precepts which appear in different places. But as I have said all that occasion required, I think it better not to repeat myself. Still those who do not shrink from the task but are 17 at pains to study the books which precede these, ought to perceive that practically everything there said about simplicity^a includes the thought of courage, since it is the mark of a soul, vigorous, gallant and full of mettle, that it despises everything which vanity is wont to glorify to the destruction of life in any true sense.

IV. So earnestly and carefully does the law desire 18 to train and exercise the soul to manly courage that it lays down rules even about the kind of garment which should be worn. It strictly forbids a man to assume a woman's garb, in order that no trace, no merest shadow of the female, should attach to him to spoil his masculinity.^b For as it always follows nature, its will is to lay down rules suitable and consistent with each other, even down to the very smallest matters, whose commonplace nature seems to set them in the background. For since it saw as 19 clearly, as if they were outlines on a flat surface,

^a On *ἀνυφία* and *τῦφος* see App. p. 440.

^b Deut. xxii. 5.

PHILO

χαραχθέντας ἀνομοίους ἀνδρός τε αὖ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ βίον ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἰδῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπονεμηθέντα—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ὁ κατοικίδιος, τῷ δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς προσκεκλήρωται—, καὶ¹ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα μὴ φύσεως μὲν ἔργα ἦν, φύσει δὲ ἀκόλουθα γνώμης ἀγαθῆς εὐρήματα, συμφέρον ἔκρινε διατάξασθαι· ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ περὶ δίαιταν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην καὶ εἴ τι ὁμοιό-

20 τροπον. ἡρρενῶσθαι γὰρ τὸν γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρα καὶ τούτοις ἠξίωσε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐσθήμασιν, ἃ ἐπιφερόμενος αἰὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ ὀφείλει μηδὲν ἔχειν ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνημα.

21 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέντοι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀσκήσας τοῖς
379] ἀρμόττουσι κόσμοις | ἐκώλυσεν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἀνδρὸς ἐσθῆτα, πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀνδρογύνους οὕτως καὶ γυνάνδρους φυλαξάμενος· ἐνὸς γάρ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις, ὑφαιρεθέντος ἥδει καὶ τᾶλλα μενούντα οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ.

22 V. "Ἐτι τοίνυν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων δυσὶ καιροῖς ἐμφερομένων, εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ πολέμῳ, τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐξεταζόμενας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων λέλεκται πρότερον καὶ αὖθις, εἰ γένοιτό τις χρεία, λεχθήσεται· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνδρείαν οὐ παρέργως ἐξεταστέον, ἥς τὰ μὲν κατ' εἰρήνῃν ἔργα πολλαχοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ὑμνησεν αἰὲ τῶν καιρῶν στοχαζόμενος, περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις

¹ MSS. καί.

^a It is difficult to see to what Philo refers (*cf. De Praem.* 3). Peace is of course the ordinary sphere of all the virtues except ἀνδρεία, and nearly every event or law would come

ON THE VIRTUES, 19-22

how unlike the bodily shapes of man and woman are, and that each of the two has a different life assigned to it, to the one a domestic, to the other a civic life, it judged it well in other matters too to prescribe rules all of which though not directly made by nature were the outcome of wise reflection and in accordance with nature. These were such as dealt with habits of life and dress and any similar matters. It considered that in such matters the true 20 man should maintain his masculinity, particularly in his clothes, which as he always wears them by day and night ought to have nothing to suggest unmanliness. In the same way he trained the woman to 21 decency of adornment and forbade her to assume the dress of a man, with the further object of guarding against the mannish-woman as much as the womanish-man. He knew that as in buildings, if one of the foundation stones is removed, the rest will not remain as they were.

V. To proceed, since the time in which human 22 events occur may be divided into war-time and peacetime, we may observe the place taken by the virtues in both. In regard to the others this has been discussed already^a and will be again if need arise, but courage at this point calls for a close examination. The effects it produces in peace are extolled by him in many places of the law book, and he is always ready to seize opportunity for so doing. These have been

under this head. He has dealt with *δικαιοσύνη* in war in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222, and *εὐσέβεια*, which is quite as prominent as *ἀνδρεία* in the coming story of the Midianite war, might be found in the earlier account of that war in *Mos.* i. 305 ff., or that against Amalek, *ibid.* 215 ff. So too Abraham's conduct of the war against the four kings is ascribed to *φιανθρωπία*, *De Abr.* 232.

- τόποις ὑπεμνήσαμεν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε
 23 ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκείνο προειπόντες. ὅταν
 ποιῇται τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον, οὐχ ἅπασαν
 τὴν νεότητα καλεῖν οἴεται δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὓς
 παραιτεῖται προστιθεὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγους τῆς ἀστρα-
 τείας· αὐτίκα τοὺς κατεπτηχότας καὶ δειλοὺς, μελ-
 λήσοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου μαλακίας ἀλίσκεσθαι
 24 καὶ δέος τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐμποιεῖν. τὸ γὰρ
 ἑτέρου κακὸν εὖ πως ὁ πλησίον ἀναμάττεσθαι
 φιλεῖ, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν πολέμῳ, τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ
 τὴν ἀγωνίαν συγκεχυμένου καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀντιλήψεις ἀκριβοῦν ἀδυνατοῦντος· τότε γὰρ εὐλά-
 βειαν μὲν τὴν δειλίαν, τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι προμηθές,
 ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν εἰώθασι καλεῖν,
 αἰσχιστα ἔργα εὐπρεπέσι καὶ σεμναῖς κλήσεσιν
 25 ἐπαμπίσχοντες. ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὰ μὲν οἰκεία
 βλάβπηται διὰ τῆς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἰόντων
 ἀνανδρίας, ἐπικυδέστερα δὲ γίνηται τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 αἰρούντων καταφρονητικῶς τοὺς ἀγενεῖς, ὅχλον
 ἀργὸν εἰδὼς οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀλλ' ἐμπόδιον εἰς κατ-
 ὀρθωμα, ἀνεῖρξε τοὺς ἀτόλμους καὶ ἀναπίπτοντας
 δειλία, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ σώματα νοσοῦσι

^a Here again the reference is vague. As ἀνδρεία in peace has just been equated to ἀνυφία, we should expect Philo to say that he has just discussed it, but the reference to Moses' frequent insistence on it suggests something different.

^b Deut. xx. 8 "What man is there who fears and is cowardly in his heart? let him go and return to his house, lest he make the heart of his brother cowardly as is his own." Actually this is spoken on the battlefield by the "officers" (E.V.), for which the LXX has γραμματεῖς ("scribes"), a word which may have influenced Philo in connecting the exemption with drawing up the roll.

ON THE VIRTUES, 22-25

noted in their proper places^a and we will now begin to describe its feats in war. One prefatory remark, however, must be made. He considers that in drawing up the roll of soldiers, the summons should not include all those of military age, but he would have some excluded, reasonable excuses being added for their exemption from service. These are in the first instance the cravens and cowards who are sure to be the victims of their ingrained feebleness and create fear in the other combatants.^b For the evil in one man is often well reproduced^c in his neighbour, particularly in war, where trepidation^d has confused the reasoning faculty and rendered it incapable of nicely estimating facts. People are then accustomed to call cowardice caution and timidity foresight and unmanliness safety-seeking, and so invest the basest actions with grand and fair-sounding titles. And, therefore, unwilling that his own cause should be injured by the cowardice of those who are to take the field and that of the enemy glorified by an easy victory over a contemptible^e body of degenerates and knowing that a crowd of idlers is no help but an impediment to success, he excludes the timid and faint-hearted cowards on the same principle, I think, that a general does not enforce war-service on persons

^a Or "makes a powerful impression on." The metaphor, as in other compounds of *μάττομαι*, is taken from the copy produced by stamping wax. Perhaps "infect," though a different metaphor, will give the sense more vividly in English.

^b A somewhat inadequate translation for *ἀγωνία*, which is defined by Diogenes Laertius as *φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος*. See note on *De Dec.* 145 (vol. vii. p. 612).

^c *καταφρονητικῶς* here denotes scorn for the feebleness of the enemy. Elsewhere, as in § 43 below, scorn of danger, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 126.

- στρατηγός¹ οὐδεὶς ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησι πολεμεῖν, ὑπο-
 26 παραιτουμένης ἀσθενείας. νόσος δέ τις καὶ ἡ
 δειλία, βαρυτέρα τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, τὰς ψυχῆς
 δυνάμεις καθαιροῦσα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ βραχὺν εἶναι
 συμβαίνει τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἡ δ' ἐστὶ κακὸν
 σύντροφον, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἡνωμένων
 μερῶν προσπεφυκὸς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι πανυ-
 στατοῦ γήρως, εἰ μὴ τύχοι θεὸς ἰώμενος· πάντα γὰρ
 θεῶ δυνατά.
- 27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους καλεῖ,
 καὶν σφόδρα ἐρρωμένοι καθ' ἑκάτερον σῶμα καὶ
 ψυχὴν προαγωνίζεσθαι καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλωσιν.
 ἀλλὰ τῆς γνώμης αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας, ὅτι κοινωνικὸν
 καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἦθος ἐπιδείκ-
 νυνται, διερευνᾷ μὴ τισιν ἀναγκαίαις αἰτίαις ἐνδέ-
 28 δονται, ὧν ὁλκὸς ἡ δύναμις. εἰ γὰρ τις, φησί,
 [380] νεωστὶ δειμάμενος | οἰκίαν οὐκ ἔφθη εἰσοικίσασθαι
 ἢ ἀμπελῶνα φυτεύσας νεόφυτον, αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν τὰ
 κλήματα καθείς, μήπω τῆς ἐπικαρπίας καιρὸν
 ἔσχεν ἢ παρθένον ἐγγνησάμενος οὐκ ἔγημεν, ἀφεί-
 σθω πάσης στρατείας, φιланθρωπία νόμου² τὴν

¹ MSS. στρατηγοῖς (-οὺς).

² All MSS. φιланθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ except A which has φιланθρώ-
 πως ὁμοῦ. Cohn, adopting a suggestion of Wendland's, prints
 φιланθρώπως ὁμοῦ <καὶ στρατηγικῶς>. This is based on the
 paraphrase in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 18, who after mentioning
 the circumstances which entitle to exemption goes on τούτους
 ἀφείσθαι τῆς στρατείας ὁ φιλάνθρωπος κελεύει νόμος στρατηγικῶς
 μὲν (then follows a précis of the reasons mentioned in § 31),
 φιланθρώπως δὲ (then the reasons mentioned in § 29). The
 text thus emended seems to me in itself unsatisfactory. If
 εὐρισκόμενος agrees with the subject of ἀφείσθω, the adverbs
 are unnatural. It is the law, not the man, who acts φιλαν-
 θρώπως καὶ στρατηγικῶς. If with the subject of φησί, the
 participle has an unnatural sense. The law does not "win"

ON THE VIRTUES, 25-28

who are diseased in body and are, therefore, excused by their infirmity. But cowardice, too, is a disease, ²⁶ graver than any that affects the body since it destroys the faculties of the soul. Diseases of the body flourish but for a short time, but cowardice is an inbred evil, as closely inherent or more so than any part of the bodily system from the earliest years to extreme old age, unless it is healed by God. For all things are possible to Him.

Furthermore, he does not even enlist all the most ²⁷ courageous, be they ever so robust both in body and soul, and willing to fight and face danger in the forefront. While He praises them for their resolution and for the public-spirited, zealous and undaunted temper which they show, he carefully inquires whether they are in bondage to any cogent considerations, whose force leads them where it will. If, he says, a man has ²⁸ lately built a house, but has not yet had time to occupy it, or just planted a vineyard, setting the shoots in the ground with his own hand, and yet has had no opportunity to enjoy the fruits, or has betrothed himself to a maiden, but has not married her, he is to be exempted from all war service, and so gain security through the humaneness of the law.^a And this for

^a Deut. xx. 5-7. For a comparison of the treatment of these verses here given with that of *De Agr.* 148 ff. see App. p. 441.

or "discover" ἀδεῖα. I think that Cohn and Wendland must have failed to observe that φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ may be a mis-division of φιλανθρωπία (= -α) νόμου, and that it actually is so is strongly supported by *Spec. Leg.* ii. 183, where M, the one existing ms., has τὴν μετουσίαν ἔλαβον φιλανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ δοθεῖσαν, which editors have corrected as an obvious error to φιλανθρωπία νόμου. I do not think Clement's phrase can outweigh this. See App. p. 442.

- 29 ἄδειαν εὐρισκόμενος,¹ ἔνεκα δυοῖν· ἐνὸς μὲν ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κατὰ πολέμους ἄδηλα, μὴ τὰ τῶν πονησάντων ἀταλαιπώρως ἄλλοι λαμβάνωσι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ μὴ ἀπόνασθαι δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν ἕτερον, ἐνοικεῖν δὲ ἄλλον, καὶ φυτεύειν μὲν τινα, τὸν δὲ μὴ φυτεύσαντα καρποῦσθαι, καὶ μνᾶσθαι μὲν ἄλλον, γαμεῖν δὲ τὸν μὴ μνῶμενον, ὥς οὐ δεῖν² ἀτελεῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας κατασκευάζειν τοῖς χρηστὰ τὰ³ κατὰ τὸν βίον προσ-
- 30 δοκήσασιν· ἐτέρου δὲ ἵνα μὴ σώματι στρατευόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑστερίζωσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖ τετάσθαι πόθω τῆς ἀπολαύσεως ὣν ἀφειλκύσθησαν· ὥς γὰρ οἱ πεινῶντες ἢ διψῶντες, ὅταν σιτίον ἢ ποτόν που παραφανῇ, διώκουσι καὶ ἐπιτρέχουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ γλιχόμενοι μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως οἱ περὶ νομίμου γυναικὸς ἢ οἰκίας ἢ χωρίου κτήσεως πονηθέντες καὶ ὅσον οὐπω τῇ ἐλπίδι νομίζοντες εἰς τὸν ἐκάστου τῆς χρήσεως ἀφίχθαι καιρόν, ὅταν ἀφαιρεθῶσι τὴν ἀπολαυσιν, σφαδάζουσιν, ὥς παρόντας μὴ παρεῖναι τῷ κρείττονι μέρει, ψυχῇ,⁴ δι' οὗ συμβαίνει κατορθοῦν
- 31 ἢ τοῦναντίον. VI. τούτους οὖν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους οὐκ οἶεται δεῖν εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἄγειν κατάλογον, ἀλλ' οἷς οὐδὲν προενηλυθὸς ὑποικουρεῖ⁵ πάθος, ὅπως ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὁρμαῖς ἀπρο-

¹ mss. ἀνευρισκόμενος.

² Perhaps, as Mangey, οὐ δέον. See App. p. 442.

³ All mss. except A have τῶν κατὰ. Perhaps, since ἔσεσθαι is to be expected with *χρηστὰ* as predicate, read *χρήσιν τῶν*.

⁴ Cf. § 3. Whereas there the mss. have τῆς ψυχῆς, here they vary between ψυχῆς and ψυχῇ (= -ῇ). See note a.

⁵ mss. οἰκουρεῖ.

^a Or if ψυχῆς is read (see note 4), "the better part of the

ON THE VIRTUES, 29-31

two reasons. One is that, since the issues of war 29 are uncertain, others should not take without toil or trouble the property of those who have laboured to get it. For it seems cruel that a man should not be able to enjoy his own, and that one should build a house and another live in it, or should plant a vineyard and another who did not plant it should reap the fruit, or should pledge himself to a maiden and another not so pledged should marry her, and, therefore, it was not right to render futile the hopes of those who expected to find themselves living under happy conditions.

Another object was that when 30 their bodies were fighting their souls should not play the laggard. In such circumstances, their minds must needs be feeling the strain of yearning for the joys from which they have been torn. Just as hungry or thirsty people, when some food or drink presents itself, race in pursuit of it without a backward glance in their eagerness to partake of it, so those who have laboured to gain a lawful wife or a house or a farm, and hopefully think that a time for using it is on the point of arriving, are distressed when they are robbed of its enjoyment, and thus though present in the body, are absent in the better part, the soul,^a which is the determining factor of success or failure. VI. So 31 then he did not think that the military enlistment should include these or others like them, but rather persons into whom no passion has found an entry and there made its home, in order that with free and unfettered alacrity they might gird themselves to

soul." There is certainly a presumption in favour of consistency between § 3 and here, but perhaps it is of some weight that there the quality indicated is λογισμός; here it is rather θυμός, which is or may be part of the lower soul.

- φασίστως τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπαποδύονται. καθάπερ γὰρ παντευχίας οὐδέν ὄφελος ἀσθενεῖ σώματι ἢ λελωβημένῳ, ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐρρωμένον σῶμα φθερεῖ τι κηραινούσης
- 32 πάθος ψυχῆς¹ μὴ συνᾶδον τοῖς παροῦσιν. εἰς ἅπερ ἀπιδὼν οὐ μόνον λοχαγούς καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐπικρίνει, δοκιμάζων πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τε σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ πρὸς εὐστάθειαν λογισμοῦ, σῶμα μὲν ἐξετάζων, εἰ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ ὑγιαῖνον ὅλον δι' ὅλων, εἰ τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ μέλεσι πᾶσιν εὖ ἡρμοσμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβαλλούσας ἐκάστω σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις, ψυχὴν δέ, εἰ θαρραλεότητος καὶ εὐτολμίας ἀνάπλεως, εἰ ἀκατά-
- [381] πληκτος καὶ μεστή φρονήσεως | εὐγενοῦς, εἰ φιλότιμος καὶ ζωῆς ἀδόξου τὸν σὺν εὐκλείᾳ θάνατον
- 33 προκρίνουσα. τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτό, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, δύναμῖς ἐστίν· ἀθρόα δ' εἰ συνέλθοιεν, ῥώμην ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδείξονται, κρατοῦντες ἀναιμωτὶ τῶν πολεμίων.

¹ The text here is very uncertain. The majority of mss. have *φέρει τι κηραινούση πάθος ψυχῇ* (= -ῆ). Some however have *εἰ φέρει*, or *εἰ φέροι*, or *φέρειν*. While I have printed and translated Cohn's correction of *φθερεῖ* for *φέρει*, and *κηραινούσης ψυχῆς* for the dative of the mss., I do not think it satisfactory. *φθερεῖ* is not an appropriate word for the effect of the diseased soul upon the body, nor a proper analogy to the preceding clause. I think the key to the sentence may be found in understanding *οὐκ ὄφελος* from the preceding clause. *οὐκ ὄφελος* can be used indifferently with the nominative and genitive, and if the change of cases from *παντευχίας* to *σῶμα* is an objection, *παντευχία* might be read for *παντευχίας*. As-

ON THE VIRTUES, 31-33

face danger without evasion. For just as a body which suffers from sickness or injuries has no use for a full suit of armour and will discard it as beyond its feeble strength, so a robust body will be ruined if the soul is afflicted with a passion which does not accord with the task before it. With these 32 considerations before him he selects not only his captains and generals, and other officers, but also each soldier, by testing him to see how far his body is in good condition, and his thinking sound. Of the body he inquires if it is without defect, healthy through and through, with all its parts and limbs well adjusted for the postures and movements required of each : of the soul, whether it is charged with valour and enterprise, whether it is proof against panic and full of generous sagacity, whether it cherishes honour and prefers death with renown to inglorious life ? Each of these qualities separately in itself is in very 33 truth a power ; if they all meet and combine, those who possess them will display a strength sufficient and more than sufficient to defy all combatants and opponents, and will win a bloodless victory over their enemies.^a

^a These two sections have no reference to the text of Deuteronomy, which does not suggest any such selection, but are based on the selection mentioned below in § 42. For the principles of that selection Philo draws on his imagination.

suming this, I suggest εἰ φέρει τι κηραίνουσα πάθος ψυχῇ or περί τι κηραινούση πάθος ψυχῇ. This last does not so well account for the persistence of φέρει in the mss., but otherwise fits in admirably with Philo's use of κηραίνω. Cf. *De Praem.* 121 κηραίνοντα περί μηδέν πάθος; *Spec. Leg.* i. 260 ἵνα περί μηδέν πάθος κηραίνωσι, and other examples of κηραίνειν περί. In fact with the exception of changing φέρει to περί it follows the mss. exactly. On ἦν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει see App. p. 443.

- 34 VII. Τῶν δὲ λεχθέντων σαφεστάτην πίστιν αἱ
 ἱεραὶ βίβλοι περιέχουσιν. ἔθνος πολυανθρωπότατόν
 ἐστὶν Ἄραβες, οἷς ὄνομα παλαιὸν ἦν Μαδιηναῖοι.
 οὗτοι πρὸς Ἑβραίους φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντες,
 οὐδενὸς ἔνεκα ἑτέρου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 πρεσβύτατον αἷτιον σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσι τῷ ποιητῇ
 καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων προσκεκληρωμένοι, καὶ πάσας
 μὲν μηχανὰς τεχνάζοντες, πάσας δὲ πείρας καθ-
 ιέντες, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος τιμῆς
 αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσωσι καὶ μεθαρμόσωνται πρὸς ἀσέ-
 βειαν ἐξ ὁσιότητος—οὕτως γὰρ περιέσεσθαι ῥαδίως
 ὑπελάμβανον—, ἐπειδὴ μυρία καὶ λέγοντες καὶ
 δρῶντες ἀπειρήκεσαν, ὥσπερ οἱ θανατῶντες ἐφ' ὧν
 ἀπόγνωσι(ς)¹ σωτηρίας, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπινο-
 35 οῦσι στρατήγημα. γυναικῶν τὰς περικαλλεστάτας
 μεταπεμψάμενοί φασιν αὐταῖς· “ὁρᾶτε, ὡς ἀπερί-
 ληπτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων πληθὺς. τῆς δὲ
 πληθύος ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερον ἐπιτείχισμα ἢ ὁμόνοια
 καὶ συμφωνία τούτων· αἷτιον δὲ τῆς ὁμονοίας τὸ
 ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ δόξα,
 ἀφ' ἧς οἷα πηγῆς ἐνωτικῇ καὶ ἀδιαλύτῃ φιλίᾳ
 36 κέχρηνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡδονῇ δ' ἀλωτὸν ἄν-
 θρωπος, καὶ μάλιστα συνουσία τῇ πρὸς γυναῖκα.

¹ My correction. Cohn prints ἐφ' ὧν ἀπογνώσι, which is quite impossible. Some mss. have ἐπειδὴν for ἐφ' ὧν, which will give a grammatical construction. But Philo does not seem to use ἀπογινώσκω with the genitive. I see no difficulty in the text as printed above: ἐφ' ὧν = ἐπὶ τούτων ἐφ' ὧν, i.e. in circumstances in which there is no hope of salvation.

^a For the narrative which follows see Num. xxv. 1-18 and xxxi. 1-18 and compare the parallel account in Mos. i. 295-311. There the seduction by the women is equally prominent, but the details are given in the form of advice tendered

184

ON THE VIRTUES, 34-36

VII. A very clear proof of these statements is 34 included in the sacred books.^a The Arabians, whose name in old times was Midianites, are a very populous nation. They were disposed to be hostile to the Hebrews, the main reason being the reverence and honour which that people, dedicated to the Maker and Father of all, pays to the supreme and primal Cause. Accordingly they contrived all possible devices and made all possible attempts^b to turn them away from honouring the One, the truly Existent, and to change their religion to impiety. For if they succeeded in this, they thought they would make an easy conquest. But when after countless efforts of word and deed they were utterly exhausted, like men in peril of death,^c where there is no hope of salvation, they as a last resource devised a scheme of the following kind. They sent for the most 35 exquisitely beautiful among their women and said to them, "You see how unlimited is the number of the Hebrews, but their number is not so dangerous and menacing a weapon as their unanimity and mutual attachment. And the highest and greatest source of this unanimity is their creed of a single God, through which, as from a fountain, they feel a love for each other, uniting them in an indissoluble bond. Now man is easily led captive by pleasure, and par- 36 ticularly by the pleasure of intercourse with women.

by Balaam to Balak, against whom the war is waged, the Midianites not being mentioned. Here Balaam is not mentioned, nor is Phinehas. For the relation of Philo's account to the biblical see App. p. 443.

^b Or "laid down snares." See App. p. 444.

^c For this use of *θαναράω*, as against the accepted meaning of "desire to die," see note on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 102 (vol. vii. p. 636).

- διαπρεπέσταται δ' ἐστέ· καὶ φύσει μὲν ἀγωγὸν τὸ
 37 κάλλος, ἣ δὲ νεότης εἰς ἀκρασίαν εὐόλισθον. ἐται-
 ρήσεως ἢ μοιχείας ὀνόματα μὴ δείσητε ὥς αἰσχύνῃ
 ἐποίοντα, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ὠφελείας ἀντι-
 τιθεῖσαι, δι' αἷς τὰς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀδοξίας μεθαρμό-
 σεσθε εἰς ἀγῆρω καὶ ἀτελεύτητον εὐκλειαν, τὰ μὲν
 σώματα ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν προέμεναι, σόφισμα κατ'
 ἐχθρῶν καὶ στρατήγημα, παρθένους δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς
 διαφυλάττουσαι, αἷς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγνείαν
 38 ἐπισφραγιεῖσθε. καὶ καινότατον ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος
 ἔξει κλέος διὰ γυναικῶν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνδρῶν κατορ-
 θωθείς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερον, ὁμολογοῦμεν, γένος
 οὐ γενήσεται ἡττα, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μάχην τοὺς
 ἀντιπάλους ἐπικυδεστέρους εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον
 παντελῶς τὴν νίκην πέρα δ' οἷσι¹ καί, τὸ μέγιστον
 ἀγαθόν, τὰς δίχα κινδύνων ἀριστείας· ἀναιμωτὶ γάρ,
 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκονιτί, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην φαντασίαν
 αὐτὸ μόνον ὀφθεῖσαι περιέσεσθε.”
- 39 Ταῦτ' ἀκούσασαι, καθαροῦ βίου μηδ' ὄναρ ἡσθη-
 μέναι, παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἄγευστοι, συναινουῦσιν, ἅτε
 [382] πεπλασμένον ἦθος σωφροσύνης | τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 καθυποκρινάμεναι, καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἐσθῆσι καὶ
 ὄρμοις καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις εἴωθε διακοσμεῖσθαι γυνή
 πᾶσιν ἀσκηθεῖσαι καὶ τὸ ἐκ φύσεως κάλλος εὐ-
 μορφότερον ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἀπεργασάμεναι—τὸ

¹ My correction for mss. *περιοῦσαι* or *περαιώσαι*. Cohn, who prints *τὴν νίκην οἷσι*, admits (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 212) that he prints it merely to have an intelligible text, and that neither it nor the suggestions of *περιποιήσαι* or *περιοίσει* are satisfactory. I think that, as the point indicated is something over and

ON THE VIRTUES, 36-39

You are exceedingly comely ; beauty is naturally seductive, and youth easily lapses into incontinence. Do not fear the names of harlotry or adultery as 37 likely to bring disgrace, but set against them the benefits arising from your action—benefits which will enable you to convert the transient disrepute into a renown which knows no old age or death. For though in outward appearance you prostitute your bodies, to outwit and out-general our enemies, you will keep your souls virgin, and crown them with a chastity which will last into the future. And this 38 war will have a glory without precedent in that it was brought to a successful conclusion by women and not by men, for it is our sex, we confess, which will suffer defeat, because our opponents are more distinguished in all warlike qualities, while yours will be completely victorious, and in addition to victory will have also the high excellence that your exploits have entailed no dangers. For you have merely to be seen, and at that first appearance, without bloodshed or rather without an effort, the day will be yours."

When they heard these words, the women, who had 39 never dreamt of such a thing as purity of life, nor had a taste of sound education, gave their consent. For their hitherto assumed modesty of character was mere hypocrisy. They decked themselves with costly garments and necklaces, and with everything else with which women are accustomed to bedizen themselves and took great pains to make their natural beauty still more comely. For the prize they aimed

above victory, *πέρα* is very probable, but other arrangements are possible, as *τὴν νίκην <νίκης δὲ> πέρα οἶσαι*. *πέρα* (preposition) often follows its case.

γὰρ ἀγώνισμα οὐ μικρὸν ἦν, θήρα νέων ἀθηρά-
 40 των—εἰς τοῦμφανές προέρχονται. καὶ πλησίον
 γενόμεναι βλέμμασιν ἑταιρικοῖς καὶ στωμυλία
 λόγων καὶ σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν ἀκολάστοις δε-
 λεάζουσι τῆς νεότητος τὴν ὀλιγόφρονα μοῖραν,
 ἀνερμάτιστα καὶ ἀνίδρυτα ἦθη· καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν
 σωμάτων αἰσχύνης ἀγκιστρευσάμεναι τὰς ψυχὰς
 τῶν συνελθόντων, ἐπὶ θυσίας ἀθύτους καὶ σπονδὰς
 ἀσυμβάτους καλέσασαι τῶν χειροκμήτων, ἄλλο-
 41 τριούσι τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεραπείας
 θεοῦ. τοῦτο διαπραξάμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐαγ-
 γελίζονται· καὶ ἔμελλον ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐπισπᾶ-
 σθαι τῶν μὴ σφόδρα βεβαίων, εἰ μὴ τοῦ πάθους
 λαβὼν οἰκτον ὁ εὐεργέτης καὶ Ἰλεως θεὸς ἀνυπερ-
 θέτῳ κολάσει τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων—ἦσαν δὲ τέσ-
 σαρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι χιλιάδες—ὥσπερ ὑπὸ χει-
 μάρρου κατακλυσθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντας ἀνεχαίτισε
 42 φόβῳ νοουθετήσας. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμὼν ἐπ-
 αντλῶν τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ
 τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων τούτοις ἐπάγων¹ ἐκ φυλῆς
 ἐκάστης χιλίους ἄνδρας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλέξας κατα-
 λέγει, δίκας ἀναπράξων τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἣν ἐμηχανή-

¹ So Cohn for mss. ἐπάδων=ἐπάδων. Wendland ἐπαίρων. As all mss. except S omit ἐπαντλῶν, several have ταῖς ψυχαῖς, and some of these omit τούτοις, the simple form of text τοῖς ὡσὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας δόγματα καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπάδων may be worth considering. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 D χρῆ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπάδειν ἑαυτῷ.

^a Though here the libations are of a ritual kind, the word is so bound up with the idea of a truce that the antithesis is

at was of no small magnitude, the capture of the youths who had hitherto been uncaptured. They 40 then openly presented themselves, and when they were near at hand, with meretricious glances and wheedling talk and lewd attitudes and movements, they set their bait before the weaker-minded part of the younger men, whose character had no ballast or stability. And when by the shameful use of their bodies they had got the souls of their lovers on their hook, they summoned them to join in offering to the works of men's hands, sacrifices which were no sacrifices, and libations which brought no peace.^a Thus they estranged them from the service of the One, the truly existing God, and having effected this, reported the good news to the men. And they would have 41 enticed others also of the less stable kind had not God the beneficent and merciful, taking pity for their sad condition, lost no time in punishing the mad folly of the offenders, 24,000^b in number, and restrained those who were like to be overwhelmed as by a torrent, but were brought by Him to their senses through fear. The leader of the nation pouring into the ears 42 of his subjects the truths that uphold piety, and with them persuading their souls,^c selected and enlisted a thousand of the best from each tribe, in order to exact retribution for the snare which the enemy had contrived with the women for their instru-

a natural one. Cf. ἐν σπονδαῖς ἄσπονδα ἔπαθον, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96 and note.

^b Num. xxv. 9. Philo, who in *Mos.* i. 303 f. took the "plague" of the Hebrew (lxx πλῆγῃ) to be a slaughter, does not commit himself here to either view. See note on *Mos.* i. 304, and in App. (vol. vi. pp. 603 f.).

^c Or perhaps "persuading them to follow these" (if ἐπάγων is read).

σαντο διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν ἅπασαν
 τὴν πληθὺν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἄκρας ὁσιότητος κατα-
 βαλόντες διαφθεῖραι, μόνους δὲ τοὺς λεχθέντας
 43 δυνηθέντες. VIII. οἱ δὲ πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας
 ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς ἀντιταχθέντες, ἐμπειρίαις ἅμα καὶ
 εὐτολμίαις χρώμενοι, καθάπερ αὐτός τις ἕκαστος
 ὄμιλος ὢν, καταφρονητικῶς πυκναῖς ἐπιτρέχοντες
 ταῖς φάλαγξι καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιροῦντες ἡρή-
 μουν τὰ βύζην συνεστηκότα στίφη καὶ ὅσα ἐφ-
 ἥδρευε πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν κενουμένων τάξεων,
 ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ πολλὰς μυριάδας καταστορέσαι καὶ
 μηδένα τῆς ἀντιταχθείσης νεότητος ἀπολιπέσθαι.
 κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς συνεπιγραψαμένας
 ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἀνοσίους, ζωγρήσαντες παρθένους,
 44 ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι. καὶ τοσοῦτον πό-
 λεμον κατορθώσαντες οὐδένα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλον,
 ἀλλ' ὅποσοι καὶ ὅποιοι προῆλθον εἰς τὴν μάχην
 ἐπανήεσαν ἄτρωτοι καὶ ὀλόκληροι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ
 χρή τάληθές εἰπεῖν, μετὰ διπλασίου νοσήσεως ἢ γὰρ
 ἐκ τοῦ νικῆσαι χαρὰ τῆς προτέρας οὐκ ἐλάττονα τὴν
 45 ἰσχὺν ἀπειργάσατο. αἴτιον δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν τούτων
 [383] ἕτερον ἢ | τὸ σπουδάσαι φιλοκινδύνως τὸν ὑπὲρ
 εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνα ἄρασθαι, ἐν ᾧ¹ καὶ προαγωνίζεται
 θεός, ἀήττητος ἐπικουρία, βουλὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ταῖς
 διανοαῖς ὑφηγούμενος, ἀλκὴν δὲ τοῖς σώμασι κρα-

¹ MSS. ἐν ᾧ.

^a In *Mos.* i. 311 the boys also are spared, contrary to *Num.* xxxi. 17, "slay every male" (though the *LXX* does not add as the Hebrew "among the little ones"). Philo does not here contradict his statement in the earlier book, nor

ON THE VIRTUES, 42-45

ment, and by which they hoped to dash the whole multitude down to destruction from the high pinnacle of holiness, though they were only able to succeed with those mentioned above. VIII. The small army 43 arrayed against many myriads, with skill and daring combined, each man as it were a company in himself, scorning all thoughts of danger, flew at their close-packed ranks, slaughtered all those who stood in their way and made a clean sweep of the solid masses of troops and of all the reserves who came to fill the gaps in the lines, so that by the mere onset they laid low many myriads and left none of the enemy's fighting force alive. They slew also the women, who had been confederates in the unholy designs of the men, but gave quarter to the maidens in pity for their innocent youthfulness.^a And great as was the war 44 thus successfully conducted, they lost none of their own people, but returned in the same numbers and condition as they had gone forth to fight, unwounded and unscathed,^b or rather it may truly be said with redoubled vigour. For the strength produced by the joy of victory was no less than what they had had at the first.

And the sole source of all this 45 was the zeal which met danger bravely and led them to champion the cause of piety in a fight where God was the foremost combatant, an invincible auxiliary, inspiring their minds with wise counsels and enduing

indeed even suggest that the men outside the fighting force were put to death.

^b Cf. *Mos.* i. 309. The statement is based on Num. xxxi. 49 "and there lacketh not one of us," which does not imply that none of them were wounded. He says the same in *De Mut.* 109, where he quotes the LXX οὐ διαπεφώνηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς, and he may be right in giving this meaning to διαφωνεῖν. See App. p. 444.

PHILO

- 46 ταιοτάτην ἐντιθείς. πίστις δὲ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμμαχίας τό τε ὑπ' ὀλίγων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἀλῶναι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαφυγεῖν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φίλων ἀναιρεθῆναι μήτε ἀριθμὸν μήτε
- 47 σώματος δύνάμιν ἐλαττωθέντων.¹ ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς φησιν· ἐὰν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύης, βίον ἀπόλεμον βιώσῃ καὶ εἰς ἅπαν εἰρηνικόν, ἢ ἐνστάτος πολέμου ῥαδίως τῶν ἐχθρῶν περικρατήσεις, θεοῦ στραταρχοῦντος ἀοράτως, ᾧ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀγα-
- 48 θοὺς σώζειν ἀνὰ κράτος. μήτ' οὖν ἐὰν πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπιτρέχωσιν ὁ πεζὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱππότης στρατὸς εὐοπλοῦντες μήτε ἐὰν ἐρυμνὰ καὶ ἐπίμαχα προκαταλαβόμενοι χωρία τοποκρατῶσι μήτε ἐὰν ἀφθόνοις παρασκευαῖς χορηγῶνται, καταπλαγείς δείσης, κἂν ἀπάντων ἀπορῆς ὧν ἄγουσι περιουσίαν ἐκείνοι, συμμάχων, ὅπλων, τόπων εὐκαιρίας, παρα-
- 49 σκευῶν· ἐκείνα γὰρ ὥσπερ ὀλκάδα πεπληρωμένην παντοίων ἀγαθῶν πολλάκις ἐπιπесῶν ἄνεμος ἐξαίφνης ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέλυσε, τοῖς δ' εὐτελέσι καὶ λυπροῖς ὥσπερ ἀστάχυσιν ἤδη μεμυκόσιν ἐξ αὐχμοῦ καὶ ἀνομβρίας ἐπιψεκάζων καὶ ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς τὰς σωτηρίους δυνάμεις ἐμπαρέσχεν ἀνεγερθῆναί τε καὶ
- 50 τελειογονῆσαι. ἐξ οὗ δῆλον, ὅτι δεῖ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὁσίου περιέχεσθαι.² οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἐνσπονδον,

¹ MSS. ἐλαττωθέντες, -θέντος, -θείσαν, -θῆναι. The last is the form accepted by Mangey, but this would perhaps require μηδὲ for μήτε, and Cohn's correction best satisfies grammar.

² MSS. αἰί . . . περιέχεται.

^a Presumably intended as a definite name for Deuteronomy, though see *De Fug.* 170. For the variant παρανώσεις see

ON THE VIRTUES, 46-50

their bodies with irresistible doughtiness. The proof 46
 that God was their ally is that so many myriads were
 routed at the hands of a few and that none of the
 enemy escaped, while none of their friends were slain
 and neither their number nor their bodily force was
 diminished. Therefore, he says in his Exhortations ^a 47
 " If thou pursuest justice and holiness and the other
 virtues, thou shalt live a life free from war and in
 unbroken peace, or if war arises, thou shalt easily
 overcome the foe under the invisible generalship of
 God, who makes it His care mightily to save the
 good. So then if a well-armed host of foot and horse 48
 of many myriads pour in upon thee, or if they seize in
 advance the strong positions and such as are liable to
 be attacked,^b and so become masters of the situation
 or are amply supplied with abundance of equipments,
 be not panic-stricken and fearful, though thou lackest
 all of which they have abundance, allies, arms, suit-
 able positions, equipments." All those, like a mer- 49
 chantman laden with all manner of valuables, are
 often suddenly upset and wrecked by a squall of
 wind ; but where they are mean and poor, God sends
 His saving powers like rain or snow showers on ears
 of corn shrivelled through drought and want of mois-
 ture, and gives them power to awake to fresh life and
 bring their fruit to its fullness. Thence it is clear that 50
 we must cling to what is just and holy. For we are

Spec. Leg. iv. 131. The next two sections are a loose para-
 phrase of Deut. xxviii. 1, 2, and 7, though the promise of
 peace belongs rather to Lev. xxvi. 5. Cf. *De Praem.* 93.

^b *i.e.* and therefore naturally seized by the invader where
 possible—so, I think, rather than the ordinary meaning of
 the word "easily assailed," which Cohn gives. Mangey's
 translation "nec facile oppugnanda" cannot of course be got
 out of the word.

ἄκρως εὐδαίμονες, οἷς δὲ ἐχθρόν, ἐσχάτως κακο-
δαίμονες. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰς τὸ παρὸν
ἀποχρώντως λελέχθω.¹

Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας

- 51 IX. Τὴν δ' εὐσεβείας συγγενεστάτην καὶ ἀδελ-
φὴν καὶ δίδυμον ὄντως ἐξῆς ἐπισκεπτέον φιλανθρω-
πίαν, ἥς ἐρασθεὶς ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος ὁ προφήτης
τῶν νόμων—ὁδὸν γὰρ οἶα λεωφόρον ἄγουσαν
ἐφ' ὁσιότητα ταύτην ἡπίστατο—τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν
ἅπαντας ἤλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει πρὸς κοινωνίαν,
παράδειγμα καλὸν ὥσπερ γραφὴν ἀρχέτυπον στη-
52 λιτεύσας τὸν ἴδιον βίον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ πρώτης
ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν
ἐνὸς ἐκάστου καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πεπραγμένα
[384] αὐτῷ δεδήλωται πρότερον ἐν δυσὶ | συντάξεσιν, ἃς
ἀνέγραψα περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωνσέως. ἐνὸς δὲ ἡ δυοῖν
ᾧ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ κατώρθωσεν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνη-
σθῆναι· δείγματα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδια-
στάτου καλοκαγαθίας, ἣν ἀσύγχυτον ἐνεσφραγίσατο
53 τῇ ψυχῇ χαρακτῆρι θείῳ τυπωθείσῃ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ
προθεσμία τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ περα-
τοῦσθαι² καὶ λογίοις ἀριδύλοις ἔγνω τὴν ἐνθένδε
μετανάστασιν, οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βασιλέων ἢ
ιδιωτῶν ἐμμήσατο, οἷς μία σπουδὴ τε καὶ εὐχὴ

¹ Cohn at this point prints asterisks to indicate that the treatise *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* originally stood here. See General Introduction p. x.

² MSS. *περαιούσθαι*.

^a This seems to be the best word to describe the virtue in general, though there is of course a multitude of cases where

ON THE VIRTUES, 50-53

supremely happy if the Godhead is our friend, utterly miserable if He is our enemy.

We have now said enough on the subject of courage and that too must be left for the present.

On Humanity ^a

IX. The next subject to be examined is humanity, ⁵¹ the virtue closest akin to piety, its sister and its twin.^b The prophetic legislator who perhaps loved her more than anyone else has done, since he knew that she was a high road leading to holiness, used to incite and train all his subjects to fellowship, setting before them the monument of his own life like an original design to be their beautiful model. Now the actions which ⁵² he performed from his earliest years to old age for the care and protection of each single man and of them all have been set forth already in two treatises in which I wrote about the life of Moses.^c But there are one or two achievements at the end of his life, which deserve to be mentioned as proofs of the constant and unbroken nobleness of life which he impressed as a final sealing, clear and distinct, on a soul which had taken shape under the graving of God. When the appointed limit of his mortal life was about ⁵³ to be reached and he knew by unmistakable warnings that he must depart hence, he did not imitate any of the other kings and commoners, whose one eager

the action described would be said to show benevolence or kindness or charity rather than what we should call humanity.

^b For the kinship of *εὐσέβεια* and *φιλανθρωπία* cf. *De Abr.* 208 and § 95 below.

^c On Philo's reason for inserting these sections here see General Introduction p. xiv.

κληρονόμους παῖδας καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πατήρ
γεγονῶς δυοῖν υἱοῖν οὐδετέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπεν
ἡττηθεὶς εὐνοίας συγγενικῆς¹ καὶ πάθους φιλοικείου·
καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῶν τέκνων δι' ὑποψιῶν ἦν, ἀλλ'
ἀδελφιδῶν γοῦν οὐκ ἠπόρει καλῶν καγαθῶν, οἱ
54 γέρας ἀρετῆς ἔσχον τὴν ἀνωτάτῳ ἱερωσύνην. ἀλλ'
ἴσως ἢ μετέλκειν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας
οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν ἢ καὶ ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἐνενόησεν, ὅτι
ἀμήχανον τοὺς αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι καλῶς ἀμφοῖν ἐπι-
τροπεύειν, ἱερωσύνης τε καὶ βασιλείας, ὧν ἡ μὲν
ἐπαγγέλλεται θεοῦ θεραπείαν, ἡ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπι-
μέλειαν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ κριτὴν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠξίωσε
γενέσθαι πράγματος μεγάλου· μέγιστον δ' ἐστὶ τὸν
εὔ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι καὶ σχεδὸν
θείας δυνάμεως, ἥ μόνῃ καθορᾶν ἡθὸς ἀνθρώπου
55 ῥάδιον. X. πίστις δὲ σαφειστάτῃ τοῦ δη-
λουμένου γένοιτ' ἂν ἥδε. φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ
γνώριμος σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας γενόμενος,
Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα, οὗ τὴν φιλίαν προὔξενησεν οὐδὲν
τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰωθότων, ἀλλ' ἔρως ὁ
οὐράνιος καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσαν
ἀρετὴν φύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· οὗτος ὁμωρόφιος καὶ
ὁμοδίαιτος ἦν αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὅποτε ἐπιθειάσαντι καὶ
χρησμοδουμένῳ προσταχθεῖν μόνωσις· ὑπηρέτει
μέντοι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας αἰεὶ διαφερόντως
τῷ πλήθει, μόνον οὐχ ὑπαρχος ὧν καὶ τὰ τῆς
56 ἡγεμονίας συνδιοικῶν. ἀλλὰ καίτοι βάσανον ἀκ-
ριβῆ λαβὼν ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων τῆς ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ

¹ MSS. εὐνοίας συγγενείας OR εὐνοία (= -α) συγγενικῇ (= -ῃ).

ON THE VIRTUES, 53-56

desire and prayer is to leave behind them sons as heirs ; but although he was the father of two, he did not bequeath the leadership to either. Nor did he let himself be governed by family affection and favouritism to his own connexions, though even if the claims of his sons were under suspicion he had nephews at any rate of great excellence who held the highest priesthood as a reward for their virtue. But perhaps he did not think fit to withdraw them from the service of God, or reasonably enough considered that it was impossible for the same persons to do justice to both offices, the priesthood and sovereignty, one of which professes the service of God, the other the guardianship of men. Perhaps, too, he did not think it well to constitute himself the judge of a great matter, and no matter is so great as the task of testing and selecting the person best fitted by nature for command, a task which almost demands the divine power that alone can see with ease into the character of a man.

X. The clearest proof I can give of this statement is as follows. He had a friend whom he had known well almost from his earliest years, Joshua by name. This friendship had not been effected in any of the ways that other friends are usually made, but by the rapturous love, which is of heaven, all pure, and truly from God, from which in fact all virtue springs. This Joshua had shared his home and board, except when solitude was prescribed to him, that is when he was under inspiration and receiving the oracles. All other services he rendered him on a different footing from the multitude and was almost his lieutenant, associated with him in the duties of government. Yet although Moses had so long carefully tested his excellence in word and deed, and,

ἔργοις καλοκάγαθίας αὐτοῦ καὶ—τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον
 —εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον ᾤκηθη
 χρῆναι καταλιπεῖν διάδοχον, δεδιὼς μὴ ποτε ψευ-
 δοδοξῇ νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τὸν οὐκ ὄντα πρὸς ἀλή-
 θειαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κριτήρια τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης
 57 ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀβέβαιά πως εἶναι πέφυκεν. ὅθεν οὐ
 προπιστεύων ἑαυτῷ ποτνιαῖται καὶ καθικετεύει τὸν
 ἀοράτου ψυχῆς ἔφορον θεόν, ᾧ μόνῳ διάνοιαν
 [385] ἔξεστιν ἀκριβῶς θεωρεῖν, | ἀριστίνδην ἐλέσθαι τὸν
 ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς ἡγεμονίαν, ὃς οἶα πατήρ ἐπι-
 μελήσεται τῶν ὑπηκόων· καὶ τὰς καθαρὰς καὶ ὡς
 ἂν εἴποι τις τροπικώτερον παρθένους χεῖρας ἀνα-
 58 τεῖνας εἰς οὐρανὸν φησιν· “ἐπισκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ
 θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπων
 ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος, εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν
 ποιμένα ὃς¹ ἀνυπαίτιως ἀφηγήσεται, ἵνα μὴ γένηται
 σαθρὸν τὸ ἔθνος οἶα ποίμνη σποράδην² ἀγελάρχην
 59 οὐκ ἔχουσα.” καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν κατεπλάγη τῶν
 τότε τῆς εὐχῆς ἀκούσας, “τί φῆς” εἰπὼν “ὦ δέ-
 σποτα; οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν σοι γνήσιοι παῖδες, οὐκ εἰσὶ δ’
 ἀδελφιδοί; μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς υἱοῖς—κληρονόμοι
 γὰρ οὗτοι φύσει πρῶτοι—κατάλιπε τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ
 60 δ’ ἀποδοκιμάζεις, τοῖς γοῦν ἀδελφιδοῖς. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 τούτους ἀνεπιτηδεῖους ὑπέληφας τὸ ἔθνος προ-
 κρίνων τῶν συγγενεστάτων καὶ οἰκειοτάτων, ἀλλ’

¹ mss. ποιμένος or ποιούμενος.

² So all mss. except S, which has ἐπ’ ὄρους. Cohn in his edition corrected to σποράς, considering that ποίμνη σποράδην was an impossible combination and that ἐπ’ ὄρους was a corruption of σποράς. In his translation he declares for σποράς ἐπ’ ὄρους. He observes that “on a mountain” is a reminiscence of 1 Kings xxii. 17 “I saw all Israel scattered

ON THE VIRTUES, 56-60

what was most vital of all, his loyal affection for the nation, he did not think he should leave the succession even to him. He feared that he might be deceived in thinking him a good man when he was not really so, since the standards of human judgement are such as to be vague and uncertain. And therefore, slow 57 to trust in himself, he besought and entreated God, who surveys the invisible soul and to whom alone it is given to discern the secrets of the mind, to choose on his merits the man most fitted to command, who would care for his subjects as a father. And stretching up to heaven his pure, and, as it might be put figuratively, his virgin hands he said, ^a "Let the God 58 of spirits and all flesh ^b look to find a man to set over the multitude to guard and protect it, a shepherd who shall lead it blamelessly that the nation may not decay ^c like a flock scattered about without one to guide it." Yet who of those who heard this prayer 59 would not have been astounded? "Master," he would say, "what do you mean, have you not lawful sons, have you not nephews? Bequeath the sovereignty to your sons as the first choice, for they naturally take precedence as heirs, or if you reject them, at least to your nephews, or if you count them also unsuitable 60 and prefer the people at large to your nearest and

^a Num. xxvii. 16, 17.

^b So LXX. E.V. "spirits of all flesh."

^c Or "waste away."

on the mountains, as a flock which has no shepherd." No doubt this is so, but whether the reminiscence is more likely to be Philo's or of the scribe of S, I do not feel capable of deciding. In any case I see no reason for substituting *σποράς* for *σποράδην*, which as an adverb qualifying *ἀγελάρχην* οὐκ ἔχουσα seems to me quite unobjectionable.

- ἔστι γέ σοι φίλος ἄμεμπτος βάσανον ἀρετῆς
 τελείας δεδωκώς σοι τῷ πανσόφῳ· τί δὴ τοῦτον, εἰ
 μὴ γένους ἀλλὰ καλοκαγαθίας ἢ αἵρεσίς ἐστιν, οὐκ
 61 ἀξιούς δοκιμάζειν;” ἀλλ’ ἀποφανεῖται ὅτι “πάν-
 των μὲν κριτὴν ποιεῖσθαι θέμις θεόν, διαφερόντως
 δὲ τῶν μεγάλων, ἐν οἷς τὸ εὖ γε ἢ χεῖρον μυρίους
 ὅσους εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἤγαγεν ἢ τούναντίον εἰς
 κακοδαιμονίαν. μείζον δ’ οὐδέν ἀρχῆς, ἢ τὰ
 πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν ὅσα κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατ’
 εἰρήνην ἐπιτέτραπται· ὥς γὰρ πρὸς εὐπλοῖαν ἀγα-
 θοῦ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην δεῖ κυβερ-
 νήτου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς εὐνομίαν
 ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ χρεῖα πανσόφου τινὸς
 62 ἡγεμόνος. σοφίαν δὲ πρεσβυτέραν οὐ μόνον τῆς
 ἐμῆς γενέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντός
 οὖσαν οὔτε θέμις οὔτε δυνατόν ἄλλῳ τῷ κρίνειν
 ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς καὶ
 63 γνησίως αὐτῆς ἐρώσιν. ἐδιδάχθη δ’ ἀπ’ ἐμαντοῦ
 μηδ’ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι δοκούντων εἰς
 ἀρχὴν δοκιμάσαι. τὴν γοῦν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προ-
 στασίαν τῶν κοινῶν οὗτ’ αὐτὸς ἐθελοντῆς εἰλόμην
 οὔθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπων χειροτονηθεὶς ἔλα-
 βον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοῖς ἐναργέσι καὶ
 λογίοις ἀριδύλοις ἐμφανῶς θεσπίζοντος καὶ προσ-
 τάττοντος ἄρχειν ἀνεδυόμην ἱκετεύων καὶ πο-
 τινώμενος, εἰς τὸ μέγεθος ἀφορῶν τοῦ πράγματος,
 ἕως, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἐκέλευε, δέισας ἐπειθάρχησα.
 64 πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσιν

^a An allusion to Wisdom’s speech in Prov. viii. 22-30
 “The Lord . . . established me from eternity (πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος),
 in the beginning before He made the earth,” etc., part of
 which Philo has quoted in *De Ebr.* 31.

ON THE VIRTUES, 60-64

closest, you have a blameless friend who has given proof of perfect virtue to your unerring wisdom. Why do you not think fit to approve of him, if the choice is not to rest on birth but on high excellence of life." He will say in reply, "It is very right that we should 61 take God for our Judge in all things and particularly in great matters, where a decision for good or ill brings happiness, or, contrariwise, misery to countless multitudes. No matter is greater than sovereignty, to which is committed the charge of all the affairs of cities and countries in war and peace. For just as successful navigation demands a pilot of good judgement and knowledge, so, too, a governor of all-round wisdom is needed to secure for his subjects in every place a happy and orderly life. Now wisdom's years 62 are from of old, ere not only I, but the whole universe was born,^a and it is not lawful or possible that any other should judge her save God, and those who love her with a love that is guileless and pure and genuine. I have learnt from my own history not to choose any- 63 one else from among those who seem to be suitable and approve him for government. I did not of my own free-will choose to superintend and preside over public affairs, nor did I receive the office through appointment by some other of mankind, but when God by plain oracles and manifest declarations made clear to me His will and bade me take command, considering the greatness of the task I held back with prayers and supplications, until, when He many times repeated the command, I trembled but obeyed. With this example before me,^b surely 64 reason requires that I should follow in the same

^b See γούν in previous section, suggesting that the following words illustrate the general sense of the paragraph.

ἐπακολουθήσαι καὶ χρησάμενον ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἄρχειν
δοκιμασθῇ θεῷ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ θέσθαι τὴν
[386] χειροτονίαν τοῦ διαδόχου, μὴ | συνεψαφμένης
ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, ἥ τὸ εἰκὸς συγγενέστερόν ἐστι
τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς προστασίας οὐκ ἐπὶ
τῷ τυχόντι ἔθνει γενησομένης, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπο-
τάτῳ μὲν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ πάντων, ἐπάγγελμα δὲ
ἐπαγγελλομένῳ μέγιστον, ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος,
65 ὅς ἐστι ποιητῆς τῶν ὅλων καὶ πατῆρ; ὅπερ γὰρ
ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῆς δοκιμωτάτης περιγίνεται τοῖς
ὁμιληταῖς αὐτῆς, τοῦτο διὰ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν Ἰου-
δαίοις, ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτου
πάντων αἰτίου, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενητοῖς θεοῖς πλάνον
ἀπωσαμένους· γενητὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀληθεία θεός,
ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον, τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀφηρημένος,
αἰδιότητα.”

66 XI. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐναργέστατον δεῖγμα
τῆς πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ ὁμόφυλον αὐτοῦ φιланθρωπίας
καὶ πίστεως· ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος οὐκ ἀποδέον.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀριστίνδην ὁ φοιτητῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μι-
μητῆς τῶν ἀξιεράστων ἡθῶν Ἰησοῦς ἄρχων ἐδοκι-
μάσθη κριτηρίοις θείοις, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἂν ἕτερος ἐπὶ
τῷ μὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφιδοὺς αἵρεθῆναι
67 κατήφησεν, ἀλλὰ ὑποπλησθεὶς ἀλέκτου χαρᾶς, ὅτι
μελλήσοι τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πάντα
ἀρίστῳ—καλὸν γὰρ καγαθὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἥδει τὸν
εὐάρεστον θεῷ—λαβόμενος τῆς τούτου δεξιᾶς καὶ
παραγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ἡθροισμένον τὸ πλῆθος, μηδὲν
περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς εὐλαβηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς
ἀρχαίαις εὐφροσύναις νέας ἐτέρας προσειληφὺς οὐ

^a Num. xxvii. 22, 23.

ON THE VIRTUES, 64-67

steps, and, after having had God for my approver when I was about to take command, should give the election of my successor to Him alone without the participation of human judgement, which is nearer akin to the seeming than to the true. It is a special reason for so doing that the person appointed will preside not over some ordinary nation, but over the most populous of all the nations upon earth, one which makes the greatest of all professions that it is a suppliant of Him who truly exists and is the Maker and Father of all. For what the disciples of the most excellent philosophy gain from its teaching, the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is to know the highest, the most ancient Cause of all things and reject the delusion of created gods. For no created being is God in reality, but only in men's fancies, bereft as it is of the essential attribute of eternity."

XI. Here we have the first proof of the kindness and faithfulness, which he showed to all his compatriots, but there is another not inferior to it. When his disciple, Joshua, who modelled himself on his master's characteristics with the love which they deserved, had been approved by divine judgement as best fitted to command, Moses was not depressed as another might have been because the choice had not fallen on his sons or nephews, but was filled with intense joy, to think that the nation would be in the charge of one excelling in every way, since he knew that one in whom God is well pleased must needs be of a noble character. So taking Joshua by the right hand he brought him forward to where the multitude was congregated.^a He had no tremors at the thought of his own end, but had added other new joys to

PHILO

μόνον διὰ μνήμην τῶν πρότερον εὐπαθειῶν, αἷς κατακόρως διὰ παντὸς εἶδους ἀρετῆς ἐνετρύφησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ μέλλειν ἀθανατίζεσθαι μεταβαλὼν ἐκ φθαρτοῦ βίου εἰς ἄφθαρτον, ἰλαραῖς ὤψεσιν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εὐθυμίας φαιδρὸς καὶ
68 γεγηθῶς φησιν· “ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καιρὸς ἤδη τῆς ἐν σώματι ζωῆς· ὁ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιτροπῆς διάδοχος οὗτός ἐστιν αἵρεθεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ”· καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα λόγια τῆς δοκιμασίας εὐθὺς
69 ἐπέειπεν, οἷς ἐπίστευσαν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποβλέψας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι παραινεῖ καὶ σφόδρα ἰσχύειν ἐν ταῖς εὐβουλαῖς, ἀγαθὰς μὲν γνώμας εἰσηγούμενον, ἀνενδότοις δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοις λογισμοῖς τὰ γνωσθέντα καλῶς τελειοῦντα. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν ἴσως οὐ δεομένῳ παραινέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ φιλάλληλον καὶ φιλοεθνὲς πάθος οὐ στέγων, ὅφ’ οὗ
τρόπον τινὰ κεντριζόμενος ἃ συνοίσειν ἐνόμιζεν
70 ἀπεγύμνου. ἦν δὲ καὶ χρησμός αὐτῷ παρακαλέσαι τὸν διάδοχον καὶ εὐθαρσέστατον ἀπεργάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιμέλειαν, τὸ βάρος μὴ καταδείσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἔπειτα γένηται κανὼν
[387] καὶ νόμος | ἅπασιν ἡγεμόσι πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα Μωυσῆν ἀποβλέπουσι καὶ μηδεὶς φθονῇ βουλευμάτων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς διαδόχοις, ἀλλ’ ὑποθήκαις καὶ παραινέσεσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀλείφωσι

^a Deut. xxxi. 7 and 23.

^b τὸ φιλάλληλον = “mutual affection,” when applied to one person signifies an affection which is strengthened by the knowledge that it is returned.

ON THE VIRTUES, 67-70

the old, for he had not only the memory of earlier felicities, which every kind of virtue had given him, filling him to overflowing with delight, but also the hope of coming immortality as he passed from the corruptible life to the incorruptible. Thus with a face beaming with the gladness of his soul, he said brightly and cheerfully, "The time has come for me to depart 68 from the life of the body, but here is a successor to take charge of you, chosen by God," and he at once proceeded to recite the messages declaring God's approval, to which they gave credence; then turning 69 his eyes on Joshua he bade him^a be of good courage and mighty in wise policy, initiate good plans of action and carry out his decisions with strong and resolute thinking to a happy conclusion. For though he to whom he addressed these words did not perhaps need the exhortation, Moses would not keep hidden the personal friendship^b and patriotism which urged him like a spur to lay bare what he thought would be profitable. Also he had received the divine com- 70 mand^c that he should exhort his successor and create in him the spirit to undertake the charge of the nation with a high courage, and not to fear the burden of sovereignty. Thus all future rulers would find a law to guide them right^d by looking to Moses as their archetype and model, and none would grudge to give good advice to their successors, but all would train and school their souls with admonitions and

^c Num. xxvii. 19 "Thou shalt give him a charge before all the congregation."

^d Cohn takes *κανὼν καὶ νόμος* as predicate, "he should become a law." Who then is "he"? Not Joshua, for Moses, who advises his successor, is the model. Not Moses, for Philo would have said *αὐτὸν ἀποβλέπουσι*. I take the words as subject to *γένηται*.

PHILO

- 71 καὶ συγκροτῶσι. δύναται γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
 παραίνεσις ἀναπεπτωκότας ταῖς γνώμας ἐγείρει
 καὶ διάρασα εἰς ὕψος ἐπάνω τῶν καιρῶν καὶ
 τῶν πραγμάτων ιδρύσασθαι φρόνημα γενναῖον καὶ
 ἀκατάπληκτον ἐνθεῖσα.
- 72 Τὰ δὲ ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις καὶ τῷ κλη-
 ρονόμῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαλεχθεὶς ἀρχεται τὸν θεὸν
 ὑμνεῖν μετ' ὠδῆς, τελευταίαν αὐτῷ βίου τοῦ μετὰ
 σώματος εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδούς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπὸ γε-
 νέσεως ἄχρι γήρως καιναῖς καὶ οὐ ταῖς ἐν ἔθει
- 73 χάρισιν εὐηργετεῖτο· καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄθροισμα θεῖον,
 τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὰ συνεκτικώτατα μέρη
 τοῦ κόσμου, γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὴν μὲν θνητῶν
 ἐστίαν, τὸν δὲ ἀθανάτων οἶκον, ἐν μέσοις τὰς
 ὑμνωδίας ἐποιεῖτο διὰ παντὸς ἀρμονίας καὶ συμ-
 φωνίας εἶδους, ἵνα κατακούσωσιν ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ
- 74 ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς γνώριμοι, πρὸς τὴν
 τῆς ὁμοίας εὐχαρίστου διαθέσεως διδασκαλίαν, οἱ δ'
 ὡς ἔφοροι θεασάμενοι κατὰ τὴν σφῶν ἐμπειρίαν, μὴ
 τι τῆς ὠδῆς ἐκμελές, καὶ ἅμα διαπιστοῦντες, εἴ τις
 ἀνθρωπος ὢν ἐνδεδεμένος σώματι φθαρτῷ δύναται
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀστέρων πανιέρῳ χορῷ μεμουνῶσθαι τὴν
 ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὄργανον, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν
- 75 σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀρμοσάμενος. ταχθεὶς δ' ἐν τοῖς
 κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα χορευταῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀνεκερά-
 σατο ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαρίστοις ὑμνωδίαις τὰ
 γνήσια πάθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος εὐνοίας, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν
 ἔλεγχοι¹ παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, αἱ πρὸς τὸν παρ-

¹ Perhaps ἔλεγχοι <οἱ> to balance the articles with the corresponding nouns that follow.

ON THE VIRTUES, 71-75

exhortations. For a good man's exhortation can 71
raise the disheartened, lift them on high and establish them superior to occasions and circumstances, and inspire them with a gallant and dauntless spirit.

Having discoursed thus suitably to his subjects and 72
the heir of his headship, he proceeded to hymn God in a song^a in which he rendered the final thanksgiving of his bodily life for the rare and extraordinary gifts with which he had been blest from his birth to his old age. He convoked a divine assemblage of the 73
elements of all existence and the chiefest parts of the universe, earth and heaven, one the home of mortals, the other the house of immortals. With these around him he sang his canticles with every kind of harmony and sweet music in the ears of both mankind and ministering angels^b: of men that as disciples they 74
should learn from him the lesson of like thankfulness of heart: of angels as watchers, observing, as themselves masters of melody,^c whether the song had any discordant note, and scarce able to credit that any man imprisoned in a corruptible body could like the sun and moon and the most sacred choir of the other stars attune his soul to harmony with God's instrument, the heaven and the whole universe. Thus in 75
his post amid the ethereal choristers the great Revealer blended with the strains of thankfulness to God his own true feelings of affection to the nation, therein joining with his arraignment of them for past sins his admonitions for the present occasion

^a For the song of Moses see Deut. xxxii. 1-43.

^b Verse 43 (in LXX only) "Rejoice ye heavens with Him, and let all the angels of God worship Him."

^c Lit. "in accordance with their own skill (in music)."

PHILO

όντα καιρὸν νουθεσίαι καὶ σωφρονισμοί, παραινέσεις αἱ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα διὰ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων, αἷς ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αἷσια τέλη.

- 76 XII. Ὡς δ' ἐτέλεσε τὰς χορείας ὁσιότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τρόπον τινὰ συννυφασμένας, ἤρξατο μεταβάλλειν ἐκ θνητῆς ζωῆς εἰς ἀθάνατον βίον κακ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον συνησθάνετο τῆς τῶν¹ ἐξ ὧν συνεκέκρατο διαζεύξεως, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὁστρέου [388] | δίκην <περιπεφυκότος>² περιαιρουμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀπογυμνουμένης καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν-
77 θένδε ποθούσης μετανάστασιν. εἰθ' ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ πρὸς ἔξοδον οὐ πρότερον ἐστείλατο τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ τὰς τοῦ ἔθνους φυλὰς ἀπάσας εὐχαῖς ἐναρμονίοις [ἀριθμῶ δώδεκα] γεῖραι διὰ τῆς τῶν φυλαρχῶν κατακλήσεως· ὥς ὅτι τελεσφορηθήσονται πιστευτέον· ὃ τε γὰρ εὐξάμενος θεοφιλῆς ὃ τε θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ὧν τε αἱ αἰτήσεις εὐπατρίδαι καὶ εὐγενεῖς τὴν ἀνωτάτω τεταγμένοι τάξιν, ὑπὸ
78 στρατάρχη τῷ ποιητῇ πάντων καὶ πατρί. [αἰτήσεις δ' ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγαθῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὅπως ὑπάρχωσιν αὐτοῖς βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἀνετος τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῦ
79 γένηται ἡ ψυχή.]³ μόνος γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος

¹ MSS. τῆς ἐξ or τῶν ἐξ.

² Added by Cohn on the analogy of *De Ios.* 71. A likely but not certain emendation.

³ Cohn considers this section spurious, probably rightly. See App. p. 445.

ON THE VIRTUES, 75-79

and calls to a sounder mind, and his exhortations for the future expressed in hopeful words of comfort which needs must be followed by their happy fulfilment.^a

XII. When he had ended his anthems, a blend we 76 may call them of religion and humanity, he began to pass over from mortal existence to life immortal and gradually became conscious of the disuniting of the elements of which he was composed. The body, the shell-like growth which encased him, was being stripped away and the soul laid bare and yearning for its natural removal hence. Then after accomplishing 77 the preparations for his departure he did not set out for his new home until he had honoured all the tribes of his nation with the concert of his benedictions, mentioning the founders of the tribes by name.^b That these benedictions will be fulfilled we must believe, for he who gave them was beloved of God the lover of men and they for whom he asked were of noble lineage and held the highest rank in the army led by the Maker and Father of all. [The prayers were re- 78 quests for true goods, not only that they should have them in this mortal life but much more when the soul is set free from the bonds of the flesh.] For Moses 79 alone, it is plain, had grasped the thought that the

^a The song, according to Deut. xxxi. 28, was intended to be a witness against Israel, and certainly the "arraignments" are the most prominent feature. On the other hand "the poem strikes its keynote (xxxii. 21) of mercy and hope, and emphatically concludes on this keynote" (34-43)—Adam Smith.

^b For the blessing of Moses see Deut. xxxiii. Philo has before, in *Mos.* ii. 288, expressed his conviction that these blessings, though partially fulfilled already, would be finally completely fulfilled.

PHILO

ὑπολαβὼν ἔχειν ἀναγκαιοτάτην συγγένειαν, πολὺ γνησιωτέραν τῆς ἀφ' αἵματος, πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὧν δὴ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις χωρεῖ κληρονόμον ἀπέφηνεν, ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου διδούς, ἃ δὲ μὴ κέκτητο, τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύων παρασχεῖν, εἰδὼς τὰς τῶν χαρίτων αὐτοῦ πηγὰς ἀενάους μὲν οὔσας, οὐ πᾶσι δ' ἀνειμένας, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἰκέταις· ἰκέται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ καλοκάγαθίας ἐρῶντες, οἷς ἀρύτεσθαι θέμις ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερωτάτων πηγῶν διψῶσι σοφίας.

- 80 XIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δείγματα τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ κοινωνίας, ἥ ἐχρήσατο καὶ δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ὑφηγήσεως, μεμήνυται. λεκτέον δὲ ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα διετάξατο, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα—οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον—, τὰ γοῦν ἀγχίσπορα καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν
81 ἐκείνου βουλευμάτων. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ μόνον ἰδρύεται κοινωνίαις, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἀναχεῖ πλουσίως αὐτὸ καὶ τείνει πρὸς τε τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φύσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων ἰδέας. ἃ δὲ περὶ ἐκάστων ἐνομοθέτησε, λεκτέον ἐν μέρει τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων.

- 82 XIV. Ἀπαγορεύει τοίνυν ἀδελφῷ δανεῖζειν, ἀδελφὸν ὀνομάζων οὐ μόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φύντα γονέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀστὸς καὶ ὁμόφυλος ᾗ, τόκους ἐπὶ χρήμασιν οὐ δικαίων ἐκλέγειν ὥς

^a Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 36, 37, Deut. xxiii. 19. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 74 ff.

ON THE VIRTUES, 79-82

whole nation from the very first was akin to things divine, a kinship most vital and a far more genuine tie than that of blood, and, therefore, he declared it the heir of all good things that human nature can contain. What he had himself he gave them ready for their use, what he did not possess he supplicated God to grant them, knowing that though the fountains of His grace are perennial they are not free for all, but only to suppliants. And suppliants are all those who love a virtuous life, to whom it is permitted to quench their thirst for wisdom with water drawn from the fountains of true holiness.

XIII. We have stated the proofs of the legislator's 80 humanity and fellow feeling, a quality which he possessed through a happy gift of natural goodness, and also as the outcome of the lessons which he learnt from the holy oracles. But we must also speak of the ordinances which he gave to posterity, if not all of them, which would be difficult, at least those which are closest akin to his way of thinking. He did not 81 set up consideration and gentleness as fundamental to the relations of men to their fellows only, but poured it out richly with a lavish hand on animals of irrational nature and the various kinds of cultivated trees. We must mention the laws which he gave on each of these, taking them in turn and beginning with mankind.

XIV. He forbids anyone to lend money on interest 82 to a brother, meaning by this name not merely a child of the same parents, but anyone of the same citizenship or nation.^a For he does not think it just to amass money bred from money^b as their yeanlings

^b Or simply "interest on money"; but there is obviously an allusion to the original meaning of *τόκος*.

PHILO

- 83 ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων ἔγγονα. καὶ προτρέπει μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ συμβάλλειν ὀκνηρότερον, ἀλλ' ἀνειμέναις χερσὶ καὶ γνώμαις μάλιστα μὲν χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις, λογιζομένους ὅτι καὶ ἡ χάρις τρόπον τινὰ δάνειόν ἐστιν, ἀποδοθησόμενον
- [389] ἐν καιρῷ βελτίονι <ἄνευ> ἀνάγκης | ἐκουσίῳ διαθέσει τοῦ λαβόντος, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλουντο δωρεῖσθαι, κυχράναι γοῦν ἐτοιμότατα καὶ προθυμότατα, μηδὲν
- 84 ἔξω τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποληψομένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐθ' οἱ πένητες ἔμελλον ἀπορώτεροι γίνεσθαι, πλείονα ὦν ἔλαβον εἰσφέρειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, οὐθ' οἱ συμβάλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἃ προήκαντο μόνῃ κομιζόμενοι· καίτοι γε οὐ μόνῃ· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντὶ τόκων οὖς λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσαν ἐπεισφέρονται τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡμερότητα, κοινωνίαν, χρηστότητα, μεγαλόνοιαν, εὐφημίαν, εὐκλειαν· οἷς τίς κτήσις ἐφάμιλλος;
- 85 ἀπορώτατος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἀναφανέεται κατὰ σύγκρισιν μιᾶς ἀρετῆς· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος ἄψυχος ἐν ταμείοις καὶ μυχοῖς γῆς κατορωρυγμένος, ἀρετῆς δ' ἐν ψυχῇ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ μεταποιεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ καθαρώτατον τῆς οὐσίας, οὐρανός, καὶ ὁ γεννητὴς τῶν συμπάντων θεός. ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων εὐπορον ἀπορίαν ἐν λόγῳ θετέον τῶν πολυχρύσων δοκούντων εἶναι βασιλέων οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐωρακόντων

^a Philo may have extracted an injunction to give in preference to lending even without interest from Lev. xxv. 35, 212

ON THE VIRTUES, 83-85

are from cattle. And he bids them not take this as 83
a ground for holding back or showing unwillingness
to contribute, but without restriction of hand and
heart to give free gifts to those who need, reflecting
that a free gift is in a sense a loan that will be repaid
by the recipient, when times are better, without
compulsion and with a willing heart.^a This is the
best course, but, if they are unwilling to give, they
should at least lend with all readiness and alacrity,
not with the prospect of receiving back anything
except the principal. For in this way the poor would 84
not become more helpless, by being forced to pay
more than they received, and the contributors would
not be wronged though they recovered only what
they spent. Yet not "only." For with the capital
in place of the interest which they determine not to
accept they receive a further bonus of the fairest and
most precious things that human life has to give,
mercy, neighbourliness, charity, magnanimity, a good
report and good fame. And what acquisition can rival
these? Nay, even the Great King will appear as the 85
poorest of men if compared with a single virtue. For
his wealth is soulless, buried deep in store-houses and
recesses of the earth, but the wealth of virtue lies
in the sovereign part of the soul, and the purest part
of existence, that is heaven, and God the parent of
all claim it as their own. And can we then hold the
poverty-in-wealth of the money-grubbing usurers to
be of any account? They may seem to be kings
with purses full of gold, but they never even in their
dreams have had a glimpse of the wealth that has

where "thou shalt help" thy poor brother precedes the
prohibition of interest, or Deut. xv. 10 "thou shalt surely
give to him and thou shalt lend."

- 86 τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τοσ-
 αὔτῃ κέχρηται μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστε οὐκ
 ἔχοντες ἀργύριον τροφὰς δανείζουσιν ὡς πλείους
 ὧν ἔδοσαν αὐθις κομιζόμενοι. ταχύ γ' ἂν οὗτοι
 μεταιτοῦσιν ἔρανον παράσχοιεν λιμὸν ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ
 καὶ εὐετηρίᾳ κατασκευάζοντες καὶ τὴν ἀθλίων
 ἀνθρώπων γαστρὸς ἔνδειαν προσοδεύόμενοι καὶ
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἰστάντες σιτία καὶ ποτά,
 87 μὴ καθέλκῃ ῥοπή. τοῖς οὖν μεθέξουσιν τῆς καθ'
 αὐτὸν ἱερᾶς πολιτείας ἀναγκαίως παραγγέλλει τὰς
 ἰδέας τῶν τοιούτων πόρων ἐκτρέπεσθαι· δουλο-
 πρεποῦς γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς τὰ
 ἐπιτηδεύματα μεταβεβληκυίας εἰς ἀγριότητα καὶ
 θηρίων φύσιν.
- 88 XV. Ἐν τι τῶν εἰς φιланθρωπίαν τεινόντων
 παράγγελμα κακεῖνο διατάττεται, μισθὸν πένητος
 αὐθημερόν ἀποδιδόναι, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὴν χρεῖαν ἐφ'
 ἣν παρελήφθη παρασχόντα δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
 ὑπηρεσίᾳ μισθὸν ἀνυπερθέτως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι

^a The translation takes τῶν πολυχρύσων . . . βασιλέων in apposition with ὀβολοστατῶν καὶ τοκογλύφων. So also Mangey. Cohn, on the other hand, takes them as dependent on ἐν λόγῳ, and understands the passage "we must regard the usurers as on a par with the kings (such as the Great King), who are no real kings." But this ignores the ironical use of the interrogation ἐτι τοίνυν as a triumphant way of stating that something can no longer be held, e.g. § 141, and which Cohn himself seems to have recognized by printing the sentence as a question. For the absolute use of ἐν λόγῳ cf. οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, *De Praem.* 111. A slightly different way of taking the passage would be to treat τῶν . . . βασιλέων as genitive absolute, "can the usurers be of any account, when the richest kings are shown to have no true wealth?"

^b This censure is based on Lev. xxv. 37 "nor give (A.V. lend) him thy victuals for increase." LXX ἐπὶ πλεονασμῷ.

ON THE VIRTUES, 86-88

eyes to see.^a But there are some who 86
 have reached such a pitch of depravity that, when
 they have no money, they supply food on loan on
 condition that they receive in return a greater
 quantity than they gave.^b It would be long before ^c
 these people would give a free meal to beggars if they
 create famine when they have plenty and abundance
 and draw a revenue out of the wretches' empty
 stomachs and as good as measure out food and drink
 on a balance to make sure that they do not overweight
 the scale. So then he absolutely commands those 87
 who shall be members of his holy commonwealth to
 discard such methods of profit-making, for these
 practices show the marks of a slavish and utterly
 illiberal soul transformed into savagery and the
 nature of wild beasts.

XV. The following also is one of the command- 88
 ments promoting humanity.^d The wages of the poor
 man are to be paid on the same day, not only because
 it was felt to be just that one who has rendered the
 service for which he was engaged should receive in
 full and without delay the reward for his employment,

^c Or as we might say colloquially "you won't catch these
 people giving away to beggars." Cohn, who translates ταχύ
 γ' by "vielleicht," and supposes the words to mean "perhaps
 they would give to beggars so as to get profit from them,"
 misses the meaning of ταχύ γ'. It is here used like σπουδῇ γε
 in an ironical way, which, though ignored by L. & S., is
 well illustrated in Stephanus, who gives several references to
 the orators, *e.g.* Dem. 798. 20 ὅς γάρ οἱς ὁ δῆμος ἅπας . . .
 νοουθετεῖ μηδεπώποθ' ὑπεῖξε . . . ταχύ γ' ἂν φροντίσειε τοῦ παρ'
 ἐνὸς λόγου.

^d Lev. xix. 13, Deut. xxiv. 14, 15, *cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 195.
 Philo considers that this and other repetitions are covered by
 the defence given in *ibid.* 204, and it is true that in his earlier
 notice of the law he did not dwell on the effect on the worker.

καί, ὡς εἰπὸν τινες, ἐφημερόβιος¹ ὢν ὁ χειροτέχνης ἢ ἀχθοφόρος, ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι κακοπαθῶν ὑποζυγίου τρόπον, ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τέθεται τὴν ἐλπίδα· ὃν εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς κομίσαιτο, γήθει καὶ ῥώννυται πρὸς τὴν ἐπιούσαν προθυμία διπλασίονι ἐργασόμενος, εἰ δὲ μὴ κομίσαιτο, πρὸς τῷ σφόδρα ἄχθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τόνους ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκλυθεὶς ἀναπέπτωκεν, ὡς

[390] ἀδυνατεῖν πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἔθει τῶν ἔργων ἀπαντᾶν.

89 XVI. | "Ἐτι φησί· δανειστῆς μὴ ἐπεισίτω χρεωστῶν οἰκίαις ἐνέχυρόν τι καὶ ῥύσιον ἐπὶ τῷ δανείῳ μετὰ βίας ληψόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν προθύροις ἔξω παρεστῶς ἀναμενέτω κελεύων ἡσυχῇ προφέρειν. οἱ δέ, ἂν ἔχωσι, μὴ ἀναδυνέσθωσαν, εἴ γε ἀρμόττει τὸν μὲν μὴ τῷ δύνασθαι καταχρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ αὐθαδέστερον ἐφ' ὕβρει τῶν δανεισαμένων, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀποδόσεως ἄξια παρέχειν ἐνέχυρα.

90 XVII. Τίς γε μὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τοῦ περὶ τοὺς θερισταῖς ἢ τρυγηταῖς διατάγματος; κελεύει γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀμῆτῳ μήτε τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τῶν δραγμάτων ἀναιρεῖσθαι μήτε πάντα τὸν σπόρον κείρειν, ἀλλ' ὑπολείπεσθαι τι τοῦ κλήρου μέρος ἄτμητον, ἅμα μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους μεγαλόφρονas καὶ κοινωνικοὺς κατασκευάζων ἐκ τοῦ τι προϊέναι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μὴ πᾶσι προσκέχνηναι καὶ πάντα σύμφορεῖν καὶ συγκομίζειν οἵκαδε θησαυροφυλακήσοντας, ἅμα

¹ So S. Other mss. ἐφήμερος. See note a.

^a Or "as some persons (*i.e.* writers) have said." The singular ὡς εἰπέ τις generally, if not always, in Philo indicates a quotation. Mangey "ut quidem docent," referring it apparently to the view that a manual worker is like a beast of burden. If ἐφήμερος is read instead of the otherwise un-

ON THE VIRTUES, 88-90

but also because the manual worker or load carrier, who toils painfully with his whole body like a beast of burden, "lives from day to day," as the phrase goes,^a and his hopes rest upon his payment. If he gets it at once, he is glad and is braced up for the morrow to work with redoubled willingness. If he does not get it, besides the great trouble that this gives him, his nervous system is unstrung by his sorrow and renders him incapable to meet the routine of his task.

XVI. Again, he says, a creditor must not enter the 89
houses of his debtors, to take with violence a pledge or surety for the loan, but must stand outside in the porch and quietly bid them bring it out.^b They, if they have it, must not hold it back, since the right course is that, while the creditor must not abuse his power to deal inconsiderately and insolently with the borrowers, the latter must render the proper surety as a reminder to repay what belongs to another.

XVII. Again who could fail to admire the ordin- 90
ance about reapers or grape-pickers? ^c He bids them at harvest time not take up what drops from the sheaves, nor put in the sickle to the whole crop, but leave part of the field uncut. In this way he makes the well-to-do high-minded and liberal by sacrificing something of their own property instead of casting greedy eyes on the whole crop, and stacking and carting it all home to be kept like a treasure. At

known ἐφημερόβιος, I should suspect a play on the poetic use of the word (*e.g.* Aesch. *Prom.* 83) for mankind in general as "creatures of a day." The manual worker is "for a day" in the literal sense.

^b Deut. xxiv. 10, 11.

^c Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22. E.V. "Thou shalt not reap the corners of the field." LXX "Ye shall not complete the reaping."

- δὲ τοὺς πένητας εὐθυμοτέρους ἀπεργαζόμενος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κτημάτων ἰδίων ἀποροῦσιν, ἐφήσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων εἰσιέναι καὶ τῶν
- 91 ὑπολειφθέντων ὡς οἰκείων ἀμᾶν. ἐν δὲ καιρῷ τῆς ὀπώρας πάλιν δρεπομένοις κληρούχοις προστάττει μήτε ῥώγας ἀποπιπτούσας συλλέγειν μήτε ἐπανατρυγᾶν ἀμπελῶνας. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαιο-
 λογοῦσι διατάττεται, καθάπερ φιλοστοργότατος καὶ δικαιοτάτος πατήρ οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς εὐπραγίαις κεχρημένων παιδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ζώντων, τῶν δ' εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐσχάτην περιηκόντων, οὓς ἐλεῶν καὶ οἰκτεῖρων ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν καλεῖ μεθέξοντας ὡς ἰδίων τῶν ἄλλοτρίων, οὐκ ἀναισχύντως ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον καρποῦ μετουσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ κτημάτων
- 92 ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ οὕτως ῥυπῶσι τὰς διανοίας προστετηκότες ἀργυρισμῷ καὶ δυσθανα-
 τῶντες περὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν κέρδους, τὸ πόθεν ἂν γένοιτο μὴ σκεπτόμενοι, ὥστε ἐπανατρυγῶσι μὲν τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, τὴν δὲ κριθοφόρον καὶ σιτοφόρον γῆν ἀναθερίζουσι, τὴν δουλοπρεπῇ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον μικροψυχίαν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχοντες καὶ
- 93 ἅμα ἀσεβοῦντες. ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖ τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν παρέσχον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιό-
 τατα τῶν εἰς καρποφορίαν καὶ εὐγονίαν ἢ φύσις, καιρίους ὑετούς, ἄερος εὐκρασίας, τὰς τιθηνοὺς

^a Lev. xix. 10 (cf. Deut. xxiv. 21) "Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard." The LXX for "fallen fruit" has ῥώγας, which in itself only means "grapes" or "berries." Philo explains it by adding ἀποπιπτούσας. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 231 gives for it τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας (small grapes?).

ON THE VIRTUES, 90-93

the same time he gives fresh courage to the poor, for since they themselves own no landed property he permits them to enter the estates of their fellow-countrymen and reap a harvest from what is still left as if it were their own. Again in the autumn when the 91 owners have the fruit picked he forbids them to collect the grapes that fall or to glean the vineyards.^a He gives the same order to the olive pickers,^b acting like a very loving and very just father of children who have not prospered alike, some of them living in abundance, others sunk into the deepest poverty. These last in his pity and compassion he invites into the possession of their brethren to partake of what belongs to others as though it were their own, not in any shameless fashion, but to redress their privations and to make them partners, not only in the fruits but to all appearance in the estates also. But there are 92 some so corrupted in mind, so engrossed in money-getting and every kind of profiteering as though it were a matter of life and death,^c never considering what its source can be, that they glean the olive-yards and vineyards and give a second reaping to the barley fields and wheat fields, thus convicting themselves of a slavish and illiberal meanness and of impiety to boot. For they themselves have contributed but 93 little to the husbandry. The most numerous and most indispensable parts of all that goes to produce fruit-bearing and fertility are due to nature—the seasonable rains, the happily tempered states of

^b Deut. xxiv. 20.

^c Or perhaps "wearing themselves out to death." Philo has used this word which in other writers seems to mean "struggle against death" of the craze for the theatre, *Mos.* ii. 211, and the despair of the Israelites pursued by Pharaoh, *ibid.* 250.

PHILO

τῶν φυομένων συνεχεῖς καὶ μαλακὰς δρόσους, ζωτικωτάτας αὔρας, ὥρων τῶν ἐτησίων ἀζημίους
 [391] γενέσεις, ὥς | μήτε θέρος περιφλέγοι μήτε κρυμὸς περιψύχοι μήτ' ἔαρος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαὶ
 94 βλάπτοιεν τὰ γεννώμενα. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες καὶ ὀρώντες ἀεὶ τὴν φύσιν τελεσιουργοῦσαν καὶ πλουσίαις χάρισι δωρουμένην ὁμῶς τὰς ἐκείνης εὐεργεσίας σφετερίζεσθαι τολμῶσι καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ πάντων αἴτιοι μεταδιδόασιν οὐδενὸς οὐδενί, μισανθρωπίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσέβειαν ἀσκοῦντες. οὓς, ἐπειδὴ γνώμας ἐκουσίους ἀρετὴν οὐ διεπόνησαν, ἄκοντας νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει νόμοις ἱεροῖς, οἷς ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος ἐθελοντῆς, ὁ δὲ μοχθηρὸς ἄκων πειθαρχεῖ.

95 XVIII. Κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι δεκάτας μὲν ἀπὸ τε σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἡμέρων καὶ ἐρίων ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατ' ἀγροὺς ὁπώρας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῆς κτήσεως ἐν ταλάροις πλήρεσι κομίζειν σὺν ὕδαϊς εἰς τὸν θεὸν πεποιημέναις, ἃς ἀναγράφτους στηλιτεύουσιν αἱ ἱερώταται βίβλοι, καὶ προσέτι βοῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν τὰ πρωτότοκα μὴ ὥσπερ ἴδια κατατάττειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν ἀπαρχάς, ὅπως ἐξεθιζόμενοι τῇ μὲν τιμᾷ τὸ θεῖον τῇ δὲ μὴ πάντα κερδαίνειν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπία ταῖς ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίῃσιν ἐπικοσμώνται.

^a The law of first fruits has been given in full in *Spec. Leg.* i. 132 ff. Philo's motive in bringing it in here is that it
 220

ON THE VIRTUES, 93-95

the air, the gentle dews, those constant nurses of the growing plants, the truly life-giving breezes, the seasons benignly brought about so that neither the summer should over-scorch, nor frost over-chill, nor the transitions of spring and autumn injure the produce. And though they know these things and see 94 that it is nature who ever brings the accomplishment and bestows these rich boons upon them, they nevertheless dare to appropriate her benefactions, and, as though they themselves caused everything, refuse to share anything with anybody. Their practice shows inhumanity and impiety as well, and, since they have not of their own free will laboured to get virtue, he deals with them against their will admonishing and calling them to wisdom with holy laws which the good obey voluntarily and the bad unwillingly.

XVIII. The laws bid us give as first fruits to the 95 officiating priests tithes of corn ^a and wine and oil and domestic animals and wool and bring from the autumn produce of the fields and the other tree fruits offerings proportional to their gains in full baskets with hymns composed in honour of God. These hymns are preserved in written records in the sacred books. ^b Further the first-born of oxen and sheep and goats are not to be ranked among the herds as personal property, but they are to be regarded as first fruits, that thus accustomed on the one hand to honour the Godhead, and on the other to refrain from taking all things as gain, they may have the ornament of those queens of the virtues, piety and humanity.

inculcates *φιλανθρωπία*, whereas there he was enumerating the privileges of the priests. See also *Spec. Leg.* iv. 99, where it is treated as a lesson in self-denial.

^b Deut. xxvi. 1-11. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 215-220.

- 96 Πάλιν ἐὰν ἴδῃς, φησί, τινὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἢ συνόλως ὧν οἶδας ἀνθρώπων ὑποζύγιον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενον, ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος· καὶ ἄρα τύχῃ μακρὰν ἀφεστὼς ὁ δεσπότης, μετὰ τῶν σαυτοῦ διαφύλαξον, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπανελθὼν κομίσηται παρακαταθήκην ἣν οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτὸς ἐξευρὼν ἔνεκα φυσικῆς κοινωνίας ἀποδίδως.
- 97 XIX. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους νομοθετηθέντα, καθ' ὃ δεῖ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀνίσθαι πᾶσαν ἀργὴν ἀφιεμένην, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἀδεῶς τοῖς τῶν πλουσίων χωρίοις ἐπιβατεύειν δρεψομένους τὸν ἀπαντοματισθέντα καρπὸν, δώρημα φύσεως, ἅρ' οὐ χρηστὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα; ἔξαετίαν, φησίν, ἀπολαύετωσαν οἱ κτήτορες ἂνθ' ὧν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐγεωπόνησαν, ἕνα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐβδομον οἱ ἀκτήμονες καὶ ἀχρήματοι, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γεωργίαν ἐπιτελεσθέντος· ἄδικον γὰρ ἦν, ἐτέρους μὲν πονεῖν, ἐτέρους δὲ καρποῦσθαι· ἀλλ' ἵνα τρόπον τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀδεσπότην ἐαθέντων, μὴ συνεφαψαμένης γεωργίας, ἄρτιαι καὶ πλήρεις αἱ χάριτες ἐκ θεοῦ μόνου γίνωνται προαπαντῶσαι¹ τοῖς δεομένοις.
- 99 τί δ' ὅσα | περὶ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ
[392] ἐνιαυτοῦ διατέτακται, οὐχὶ πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλει φιλανθρωπίαν; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τῶν μὴ

¹ MSS. προσαπαντῶσαι.

^a Deut. xxii. 1. LXX "When thou seest the calf of thy brother or his sheep wandering in the way, do not overlook them; thou shalt surely turn them back to thy brother and restore them."

^b Ibid. xxii. 2 "And if thy brother do not come nigh to thee and thou dost not know him, thou shalt bring it to thy
222

ON THE VIRTUES, 96-99

Again he says, if you see a beast belonging to one 96 of your relations or friends, or in general to a person you know, straying in the wilderness, take it away and restore it^a; and if the owner is away at a distance, keep it carefully with your own, until on his return he can receive it as a deposit which he did not give, but which you, the finder, yourself restore through natural neighbourly feeling.^b

XIX. Then there is the legislation on the seventh 97 year, which enacts that all the land should be left during that year to stand idle, and that the poor may resort securely to the estates of the rich to gather the gift of nature, the fruit which springs without cultivation.^c Does not this show charity and humanity? For six years, says the law, the owners should have 98 the enjoyment in virtue of their ownership and labour on the land. But during one year, the seventh, when nothing in the way of cultivation has been performed, that enjoyment goes to those who have no landed possessions nor money. For it was felt to be unjust that some persons should labour and others have the produce. What is intended is that since the estates have been left, in a sense, without masters, and husbandry has had no hand in the work, the free gifts which come from God alone should come full and complete anticipating the wants of the needy. Again, in all the rules prescribed for the fiftieth year, 99 do we not find the utmost height of humanity? Who

house, and they shall be with thee until thy brother seek for them and thou shalt restore them to him."

^c Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, Lev. xxv. 3 ff. The subject has been treated very fully in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, and the last six of these sections dwell on the same aspect of the law, on which he insists here. We can here find less excuse than usual for the repetition.

- χείλεσιν ἄκροις ἀπογευσασμένων τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἐστιαθέντων καὶ ἐντρυφησάντων
- 100 ἡδίστοις ἅμα καὶ καλλίστοις δόγμασιν; ἐπιτελείται μὲν γὰρ αὖ καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, προσείληφε δὲ ἔτι μείζονα, ἀνάληψιν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, αὖ διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους παρεχώρησαν ἑτέροις· οὔτε γὰρ παγκτησίαν ἔχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφήσι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν ἐπιφράττων ὁδοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦ στείλαι τὴν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πάντων κακῶν αἰτίαν ἐπιθυμίαν, οὔτε τοὺς κληρούχους εἰς ἅπαν ὥγήθη χρῆναι τῶν οἰκείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, πενίας¹ διδόντας δίκας, ἣν κολάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ θέμις, ἐλεεῖσθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον.
- 101 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν ἐν μέρει διατεταγμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς χρηστὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα, ὧν ἀποχρώντως ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσιν ἐπιμνησθεῖς ἀρκεσθήσομαι τοῖς ἀρτίως εἰρημένοις, αὖ δείγματος ἕνεκα καιρίως προσπαρέλαβον.
- 102 XX. Νομοθετήσας δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπηλύτας οἶεται δεῖν προνομίας τῆς πάσης ἀξιοῦσθαι, γενεὰν μὲν τὴν ἀφ' αἵματος καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀφιδρύματα θεῶν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς ἀπολελοιπότας, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν μυθικῶν πλασμάτων πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἐνάργειαν καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ ἑνὸς
- 103 καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεοῦ. κελεύει δὴ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐπηλύτας, μὴ μόνον ὡς φίλους

¹ So Mangey for mss. πενία. This, though retained by Cohn, is hardly compatible with οὐ θέμις κολάζεσθαι. The punishment cannot be punished. The poverty here spoken of is not that to come if their property is not restored, but that which they have undergone. Cohn while printing πενία would like to add μακρᾶ from the paraphrase of Clement, which I think he misunderstands. See App. p. 445.

ON THE VIRTUES, 99-103

would not agree to this, if he belongs to the company which has not just tasted and sipped the contents of the law, but has feasted abundantly and revelled in its most sweet and lovely principles? The measures 100 taken in the seventh year are repeated, but he adds others even greater, by which possessions ceded to others through untoward circumstances are returned to the original owners.^a He does not allow the purchasers to have absolute possession of what belongs to others, thus barring the roads to covetousness, in order to curb that insidious foe and source of all evils, desire. And also he did not think it right that the original holders should be deprived of their own for ever, and so pay a penalty for their poverty, which cannot justly be visited with punishment, but must on every ground receive compassion. The particular 101 enactments include a host of others bearing on conduct to fellow-countrymen, but as I have sufficiently noted them in my former treatises, I will content myself with those just mentioned, which I have added as examples suitable to prove my point.

XX. Having laid down laws for members of the 102 same nation, he holds that the incomers too should be accorded every favour and consideration as their due, because abandoning their kinsfolk by blood, their country, their customs and the temples and images of their gods, and the tributes and honours paid to them, they have taken the journey to a better home, from idle fables to the clear vision of truth and the worship of the one and truly existing God. ^b He 103 commands all members of the nation to love the incomers, not only as friends and kinsfolk but as them-

^a Lev. xxv. 8 ff. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 111 ff.

^b See *Spec. Leg.* iv. 178.

PHILO

- καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἑαυτούς, κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, <κατὰ μὲν σῶμα> ὡς οἶόν τε κοινοπραγοῦντας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ αὐτὰ λυπομένους τε καὶ χαίροντας, ὡς ἐν διαιρετοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν εἶναι ζῶον δοκεῖν, ἀρμοζομένης καὶ συμφυεῖς¹
- 104 ἀπεργαζομένης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ κοινωνίας. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἂν εἴποιμι περὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα περὶ δίαιταν καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, ἃ τοῖς ἐπηλύτοις δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος παρὰ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων· ἔπεται γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα θεσμοῖς τοῖς τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ στέργοντος ὁμοίως [ἀγαπῶντος] τὸν ἐπήλυτον ὡς ἑαυτόν.
- 105 XXI. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐπιτείνων καὶ ἐπελαύνων ὁλκὸν φύσει πρᾶγμα, φιλανθρωπίαν, διατάττεται καὶ περὶ μετοίκων, ἀξίων τοὺς μετανάστας ἐν καιροῖς γενομένους ἀπονέμειν τινὰ τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις τιμὴν, εἶ μὲν πεποιηκόσι καὶ φιλοξένως προσεγενεῖσι
- [393] πᾶσαν, | εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ὑποδοχῆς παράσχοιεν, μετριωτέραν· τὸ γὰρ ἐνορμίσασθαι πόλει μηδὲν προσηκούση, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιβῆναι ἐδάφους αὐτὸ μόνον ἀλλοτρίου καθ' αὐτὸ δωρεὰ τίς ἐστιν

¹ Perhaps read *συμφυεῖς*. See note b.

^a Lev. xix. 33, 34. LXX "The stranger (*προσέλυτος*) that comes to you shall be as the native (*αὐτόχθων*) among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, because you were strangers (*προσέλυτοι*) in the land of Egypt." Philo ignores the obvious fact that the last clause shows that proselytes in his sense are not intended. Cf. Deut. x. 19.

^b The translation accepts the mss. *συμφυεῖς*, but I should prefer to read *συμφυεῖς*, "united in a common nature." It is they, not the ζῶον, which are rendered *συμφυεῖς* by the fellowship.

ON THE VIRTUES, 103-105

selves both in body and soul^a : in bodily matters, by acting as far as may be for their common interest ; in mental by having the same griefs and joys, so that they may seem to be the separate parts of a single living being which is compacted and unified by their fellowship in it.^b I will not go on to speak of the food 104 and drink and raiment and all the rights concerning daily life and necessary needs, which the law assigns to incomers as due from the native born, for all these follow the statutes, which speak of the friendliness shown by him who loves the incomer even as himself.^c

XXI. Again he extends the influence which 105 humanity naturally exerts and carries it farther afield in his instructions about settlers.^d He would have those who have immigrated under stress of circumstances, pay some honour to the people which has accepted them, in every possible way if the admission is accompanied by kind and hospitable treatment, in a more moderate degree if it is confined to mere acceptance. For the grant of a harbour in an alien state, or rather the mere permission to set foot on foreign soil is in itself a sufficient boon for

^c Philo may be alluding to the laws which give the stranger (1) enjoyment of the sabbath (fourth commandment), (2) right to eat the passover if circumcised (Ex. xii. 48), (3) share in the cities of refuge (Num. xxxv. 15), (4) in offering sacrifices (Num. xv. 14-16). They are included in the covenant (Deut. xxix. 11), in reading the law (Deut. xxxi. 12), in the gleaning left to the poor (Lev. xix. 10), and the "meat" provided by the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 6).

^d Philo here distinguishes between the "incomers" or "proselytes," and the *μέτοικοι*, who are not at any rate in the first instance co-religionists. Apparently this is based on the different tone in Deut. xxiii., from which he quotes lower down, excluding some races from the congregation altogether and admitting others only in a later generation.

- 106 ἀποchrῶσα τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκεῖν. ὁ δέ γε προσυπερβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιεικειὰς ὄρους αὐτῆς οἶται δεῖν καὶ τοῖς κακῶς πεποιηκόσι τῶν ξενοδόχων μὴ μνησικακεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰς πράξεις, ὄνομα γοῦν ἔχουσι φιλάνθρωπον. ἄντικρυς γοῦν φησιν· “οὐ βδελύξῃ Αἰγύπτιον, ὅτι πάροικος
 107 ἐγένου κατ’ Αἴγυπτον.” καίτοι τί κακὸν παρέλιπον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὃ μὴ τῷ ἔθνει προσετρίψαντο, νέα παλαιοῖς συνυφαίνοντες αἰὲ κεκαινουργημέναις ἐπινοίαις εἰς ὠμότητα; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἀποκλείσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν ἄβατον τοῖς ἤκουσι παρασκευάσαντες, ἐχέτωσαν προνομίαν, φησί, τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τὸ ἔνσπονδον.
 108 καὶ εἴ τινας ἐθελήσειαν αὐτῶν μεταλλάξασθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων πολιτείαν, οὐχ ὥς ἐχθρῶν παῖδας ἀσυμβάτως σκορακιστέον, ἀλλ’ οὕτως προσεκτέον, ὥς τρίτην γενεὰν καλεῖν τε εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μεταδιδόναι λόγων θείων, οἷς θέμις καὶ τοὺς αὐτόχθονας καὶ εὐπατρίδας ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι.
 109 XXII. Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων [πρὸς] τοὺς μετοίκους νομοθετεῖ· χρηστὰ δ’ ἕτερα καὶ μεστὰ ἡμερότητος ὑπὲρ πολεμίων. ἀξιοὶ γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὧσιν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστῶτες ἐν ταῖς πανοπλίαις καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐφιστάντες, μήπω νομίζεσθαι πολεμίους, ἄχρῃς ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι προκαλέσωνται πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἢν’ εἰ μὲν ἐνδοίεν, τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εὖροιεν, φιλίαν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθέστερον ἐναντιοῖντο, συμμαχίαν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου προσειληφότες ἐλπίδι

^a Deut. xxiii. 7.

^b Deut. xx. 10 ff. This section merely repeats what has been said in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219-222.

ON THE VIRTUES, 106-109

those who are unable to dwell in their own. Mere 106
fairness itself demands thus much, but he goes beyond
its limits, when he considers that no malice should
be borne to those whose hospitality to strangers is
followed by maltreatment, for nominally they are
humane though their actions are not. Thus he says
without reservation, "Thou shalt not abhor an
Egyptian because thou wast a sojourner in Egypt"^a;
and yet what maltreatment did the Egyptians spare 107
to inflict on the nation, ever combining old and new
outrages in their ingenious devices for wreaking their
cruelty? Still since originally they received the
nation and did not close their cities against them, nor
make their country inaccessible to the newcomers,
they should, he says, in recognition of this acceptance
be admitted as a privilege to terms of amity. And 108
if any of them should wish to pass over into the Jewish
community, they must not be spurned with an un-
conditional refusal as children of enemies, but be so
far favoured that the third generation is invited to
the congregation and made partakers in the divine
revelations, to which also the native born, whose
lineage is beyond reproach, are rightfully admitted.

XXII. These are the laws which he lays down on 109
the conduct to be observed in accepting settlers, but
there are other charitable and very merciful regula-
tions as to the treatment of enemies in wartime.^b
They must not he declares be yet regarded as enemies,
even if they are at the gates or stationed beside the
walls in full array and planting their engines, until
envoys have been sent with invitations to peace, so
that if they yield they may obtain the supreme boon
of friendship, but if they refuse to listen and continue
their opposition, you may with justice to reinforce

- 110 νίκης ἐπίωσι πρὸς ἄμυναν. ἦν μέντοι καὶ ἐκ προνομῆς εὐμόρφου γυναικὸς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλθης, μὴ ὡς αἰχμαλώτῳ, φησὶν, ἐναπερύγῃς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ἡμερώτερον οἰκτισάμενος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπικουφισον τὴν συμφορὰν, μεθαρμοσάμενος πάντα πρὸς
- 111 τὸ βέλτιον. ἐπικουφιεῖς δὲ τὰς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀποκείρας, περιελὼν δὲ ὄνυχας, ἀπαμφιάσας δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἦν ἔχουσα ἐζωγρήθη, τριάκοντα δὲ ἡμέρας ἀνείς καὶ ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῇ πενθήσαι καὶ ἀποδακρῦσαι μετὰ ἀδείας πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους, ὧν ἀπεξεύχθη τεθνεώτων ἢ θανάτου χείρους ὑπομενόντων τὰς ἐν δουλείᾳ συμφοράς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς γαμετῇ νόμῳ συνέρχου.
- 112 [394] τὴν γὰρ μέλ|λουσαν εὐνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐπιβήσεσθαι, μὴ κατὰ μισθαρνίαν ὡς ἐταίραν τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος καπηλεύουσιν ἀλλ' ἢ δι' ἔρωτα τοῦ συνιόντος ἢ διὰ τέκνων γένεσιν, ὅσιον θεσμῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τελείοις
- 113 γάμοις ἀξιουῖσθαι. πάννυ καλῶς διαταξάμενος ἕκαστα· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶασεν ἀχάλινον φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπαυχενίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐστείλατο τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τριάκοντα χαλάσας. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα βασανίζει, πότερον ἐπιμανῆς καὶ ἀψίκορος καὶ ὅλος τοῦ πάθους ἐστὶν ἢ μετέχει τῆς καθαρωτέρας ιδέας, ἀνακεκραμένου λογισμοῦ· λογισμὸς γὰρ πεδήσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν εἰσάσας αὐτὴν ἐξεργάσασθαι,
- 114 ἀλλὰ τὴν μηνιαίαν προθεσμίαν ἐπισχεῖν. τρίτον δὲ ἐλεεῖ τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, εἰ μὲν παρθένος ἐστίν, ὅτι γονεῖς οὐκ ἐγγυῶσι τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην ἀρμοζόμενοι σύνοδον, εἰ δὲ χήρα, διότι τοῦ κουριδίου

^a Deut. xxi. 10-13.

ON THE VIRTUES, 109-114

you advance to defend yourselves in the hope of victory. Further,^a he says, if you find among the 110 booty a comely woman for whom you feel a desire, do not treat her as a captive, and vent your passion on her, but in a gentler spirit pity her for her change of lot and alleviate her misfortunes by changing her condition for the better in every way. And you will 111 give this alleviation if you shave the hair of her head and pare her nails^b and take off the garment which she wore when captured, leave her alone for thirty days, and allow her without fear of disturbance to mourn and weep for her father and mother and the rest of her family, from whom she had been parted either through their death or because they are suffering the pains of slavery, which are worse than death. After this, live with her as your lawful wife, 112 because holiness requires that she who is to enter a husband's bed, not as a hired harlot, trafficking her youthful bloom, but either for love of her mate or for the birth of children, should be admitted to the rights of full wedlock as her due. Each of these regulations 113 is quite admirable. First he did not allow rebellious desire to go unbridled, but curbed its violence by the thirty days grant of liberty. Secondly, he tests whether the man's love is wild and giddy and wholly inspired by passion, or contains an element of reason and so has something of the purer kind. For reason will fetter desire and, instead of allowing it to commit an outrage, compel it to wait for the appointed period of a month. Thirdly, he shows pity for the captive, 114 if she is a maiden, because there are no parents to plight her and make fast the union which they have so longed to see, if she is a widow, because bereft of

^b See App. p. 446.

- στερομένη πείραν ἑτέρου μελλήσει λαβεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπανατειναμένου τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον, κἂν ἰσότητα ἐπιτηδεύῃ· τὸ γὰρ ὑπακοῦον αἰεὶ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος, κἂν ἡμερώτερον ᾗ, δέδιεν ἰσχύν.
- 115 ἔαν δέ τις τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπληρωθεὶς καὶ διακορῆς γενόμενος μηκέτι κοινωνεῖν ὁμιλίας ἀξιοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, οὐ ζημιοῖ μάλλον αὐτὸν ἢ νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· κελεύει γὰρ μήτε πιπράσκειν μήτ' ἔτι δούλην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῇ, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀδεᾶ, ὥς μὴ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας ἐπεισελθούσης ἐξ ἔριδος, οἷα φιλεῖ, κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν πάθῃ τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος καινοτέροις φίλτροις ὑπηγμένου καὶ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀλογοῦντος.
- 116 XXIII. Ἔτερα δ' ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἐπαντλῶν ὥσπερ φιληκόοις εἰς ἡμερότητα προστάττει, κἂν ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα τῷ βάρει πιεσθέντα προπέσῃ, μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνεπικουφίσαι καὶ συνεγεῖραι, πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις τῶν ἐχθρανάντων ἐφήδεσθαι, βαρύνῃ παῖθος ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν εἰδώς, ἀδελφὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀντίπαλον φθόνου, συγγενὲς μὲν ὅτι ἐκ πάθους ἐκάτερον καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἄμφω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προσερχόμενα καὶ μόνον οὐ κατακολουθοῦντα ἀλλήλοις, ἀντίπαλον δὲ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πέλας

^a Deut. xxi. 14. E.V. "Thou shalt not deal with her as a slave." LXX οὐκ ἀθετήσεις αὐτήν. See App. p. 446.

^b Ex. xxiii. 5. Cf. Deut. xxii. 4.

^c It is to be regretted that English has not a single word for this like the German "Schadenfreude."

^d Lit. "coming upon us about the same things," i.e. the

ON THE VIRTUES, 114-116

her wedded mate, she is about to make trial of another, menaced too by the dread of a master, even if he deals with her as an equal ; for the subject condition always fears the might of the superior even though it be tempered with gentleness.

And if anyone, having satisfied his desire to the full ¹¹⁵ and surfeited therewith, is no longer minded to continue his association with the captive, the law imposes what is not so much a loss of property as an admonition and correction leading him to improve his ways.^a For it bids him not sell her, nor yet keep her as a slave, but grant her freedom, and grant her, too, the right to depart in security from the house, lest if another wife comes in to supersede her, and quarrels ensue as they often do, this jealousy, with the master too under the sway of the charms of a new love and neglectful of the old, may bring her some fatal disaster.

XXIII. In another fresh list of injunctions to kind- ¹¹⁶ness, which he pours into docile ears, he commands that if beasts of burden fall under the oppression of the weight they bear, we should not pass them by, even if they belong to our enemies, but help to relieve and raise them.^b By this he implies a further lesson, that one should not take pleasure in the adversities of those who have shown him hatred. He knew that this malignant joy^c was a savagely rancorous passion, closely akin, and at the same time, opposite to envy ; akin, because each of them comes under the head of passion, and in their action upon us cover the same field,^d and are almost sure to follow each other ; opposites, because grief at our neighbours' fortunes of our neighbours. Cohn takes τῶν αὐτῶν as masculine.

PHILO

- ἀγαθοῖς λύπην, ἣ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πλησίον κακοῖς
 117 ἡδονὴν ἀπεργάζεται. κὰν πλανώμενον μέντοι,
 [395] φησὶν, ἐχθροῦ τινος | ἴδης ὑποζύγιον, τὰ τῆς δια-
 φορᾶς παραλιπὼν ὑπεκκαύματα βαρυτέροις ἤθεσιν
 ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπόδος. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνον μᾶλλον ὀνήσεις
 ἢ σεαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄλογον ζῶον καὶ οὐδενὸς
 ἴσως ἄξιον περιγίνεται, σοὶ δὲ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ
 118 τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει, καλοκάγαθία. ἔπεται
 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὥσπερ σκιά σώματι καὶ
 <ταύτῃ> τῆς ἐχθρας διάλυσις· ὃ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθὼς
 ἄκων ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον χάριτι δουλωθεὶς,
 ὃ τε ὠφελικῶς συμβούλῳ χρώμενος καλῇ πράξει
 σχεδὸν ἤδη πρὸς καταλλαγὰς τὴν διάνοιαν τέτραπ-
 119 ται. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα βούλεται διὰ πάσης τῆς
 νομοθεσίας ὁ ἱερώτατος προφήτης κατασκευάζειν,
 ὁμόνοιαν, κοινωνίαν, ὁμοφροσύνην, κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν,
 ἐξ ὧν οἰκίαι καὶ πόλεις ἔθνη τε καὶ χῶραι καὶ τὸ
 σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτω προέλθοιεν
 120 εὐδαιμονίαν. ἀλλ' ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ταύτ'
 εἰσὶν εὐχαί· γενήσεται δέ, ὥς γε ἑμαυτὸν πείθω,
 καὶ ἔργα ἀψευδέστατα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος
 ὥσπερ ἔτησίους καρποὺς εὐφορίαν ἀρεταῖς, ὧν
 μὴ ἀμοιρήσασιν οἱ τὸν πόθον αὐτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ
 πρώτης ἡλικίας περιφέροντες.
- 121 XXIV. Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις ἔγνω, ταῦτα
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐστὶ παραπλήσια. συνωδὰ δ' ὡς
 ἔοικε καὶ περὶ δούλων νομοθετεῖ, πάλιν τῶν συντει-
 νόντων εἰς ἡμερότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν καὶ τούτοις

ON THE VIRTUES, 116-121

bour's good things is the effect of the one, pleasure at his evil things of the other. Again, if you see an enemy's beast straying, leave the points on which you quarrel to serve as incentives for other more vindictive dispositions, and lead the animal away and restore it.^a You will benefit yourself more than him : he gains an irrational and possibly worthless animal, you the greatest and most precious treasure in the whole world, true goodness. And this, as surely as the shadow follows the body, will be followed by a termination of the feud. He, the receiver of a benefit which he has not willed, is drawn towards amity by the kindness which holds him in bondage. You, his helper, with a good action to assist your counsels, are predisposed to thoughts of reconciliation. This is what our most holy prophet through all his regulations especially desires to create, unanimity, neighbourliness, fellowship, reciprocity of feeling, whereby houses and cities and nations and countries and the whole human race may advance to supreme happiness. Hitherto, indeed, these things live only in our prayers, but they will, I am convinced, become facts beyond all dispute, if God, even as He gives us the yearly fruits, grants that the virtues should bear abundantly. And may some share in them be given to us, who from well-nigh our earliest days have carried with us the yearning to possess them.

XXIV. These and others similar to these are his judgements as applied to the free. In the same strain, as is evident, he legislates for slaves as well, and allows them also to benefit by measures conceived in a spirit

^a Ex. xxiii. 4. Philo rightly distinguishes this law from that of Deut. xxii. 1, which is concerned with a "brother's" animal, and has been treated in § 96.

PHILO

- 122 μεταδιδούς. θήτας μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα χρείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποβεβληκότας ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλων ὑπηρεσίαις οἶεται δεῖν ἀνάξιον μηδὲν ὑπομένειν τῆς ἐκ γένους ἐλευθερίας, παραινῶν τοῖς τυγχάνουσι τῆς διακονίας εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀτέκμαρτον ἀφορᾶν καὶ λαμβάνειν αἰδῶ τῆς μεταβολῆς· τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἡμερινῶν δανείων χρεώστας τὸ τῆς προσβολῆς¹ ὄνομα καὶ πάθος ὑποδύντας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀνάγκη βιαστικωτέρᾳ γενομένους ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δούλους οὐκ εἰς ἅπαν κακοπραγεῖν ἐᾷ διδοὺς ἐκχειρίαν τούτοις
- 123 τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἐνιαυτῷ ἐβδόμῳ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δανεισταῖς οὐ κομισαμένοις τὸ χρέος ἢ τρόπον² ἕτερον κτησαμένοις τοὺς πρότερον ἐλευθέρους ἐξαρκεῖ, φησί, χρόνος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξαετία· οἱ δὲ μὴ γένει δούλοι χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἀμοιρείωσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτωσαν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν ἄδειαν, ἧς
- 124 διὰ καιροὺς ἀβουλήτους ἐστέρηντο. καὶ ἐκ τρι-
[396] γονίας μὲν, | φησί, δούλος ἐτέρου φόβῳ δεσποτικῶν

¹ The mss. vary between this and *προβολῆς*, *περιβολῆς*, *παραβολῆς*, and one has *δουλείας*. See note c.

² So Cohn after S. Other mss. *πρὸ τῶν*, *πρὸς τὸν* (in both cases omitting *ἢ*), and *ἢ τοῖς τρόπον*. This last seems to me to be preferable to that of S. The persons who acquired slaves in some other way than as payment of a debt are not creditors.

^a These no doubt are the same as those mentioned in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79, who according to the command in Lev. xxv. 39, 40 (which Philo there has in mind, rather than as stated in the footnote Deut. xv. 12) are to be regarded as *μισθωτοί*. But the relations of these to the debtors next mentioned are

236

ON THE VIRTUES, 122-124

of kindness and humanity. The serfs ^a who through 122
the lack of the necessities of life have subjected
themselves to servitude to others ought not he holds
to suffer anything unworthy of the freedom to which
they were born, and he exhorts those who obtain
their services to consider how incalculable is fortune
and to respect their changed condition. As for the
debtors, who through temporary loans ^b have sunk into
bearing both the name and the painfulness which
their cruel situation ^c entails, and those whom a more
imperious compulsion has brought from freedom into
slavery, he would not allow them to remain for ever
in their evil plight, but gave them total remission in 123
the seventh year. For creditors who have not re- 123
covered the debt, or have gained possession in some
other way of those who were formerly free should be
content, he says, with six years as a time for their
service, and those who were not born to slavery
should not be altogether deprived of comforting hope,
but should pass back to the old independence of
which they were deprived through adverse circum-
stances. And if another man's slave, it may be 124
with two generations of slavery behind him, takes

puzzling. For a discussion of this and some other points,
or perhaps rather a statement of the questions that arise,
see App. p. 446.

^b If this is right, and the reference is to loans which the
borrower expects and promises to pay shortly, it is an un-
usual sense for the word, though it is applied to brief and
shortlived men and things.

^c Lit. "the attack" or "visitation," again a strange use.
All that can be said is that it is even less possible to give a
satisfactory meaning to the variants mentioned in note 1.
What the "name" and "painfulness" are that are entailed
by it is also obscure. Possibly *δοῦλος* and *δουλεία*. See also
App. p. 446.

ἀπειλῶν ἢ συνειδήσει τινῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἢ μηδὲν ἡδικηκώς, ἀμειλίκτω καὶ ὠμοθύμῳ χρώμενος ἄλλως δεσπότῃ, πρὸς <σέ> καταφύγῃ τευξόμενος ἐπικουρίας, μὴ περιδῆς· ἐκδιδόναι γὰρ ἱκέτας οὐχ ὅσιον, ἱκέτης δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν τὴν σὴν ἐστίαν καταπεφευγώς, ἐν ᾗ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀσυλίας τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα μὲν εἰς ἀδόλους ἐλθὼν καταλλαγὰς τὰς χωρὶς ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ γοῦν πανύστατον πραθεῖς· ἀλλαγαὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄδηλον ὅπου τὴν ῥοπὴν ἔξουσι, τοῦ δ' ὁμολογουμένου κουφότερον τὸ ἄδηλον κακόν.

- 125 XXV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἐχθρῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ συνόλως ἀνθρώπων νομοθετεῖ. τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων φύσιν ἄγει μεταδιδούς καὶ τούτοις, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ
126 πηγῆς εὐμενοῦς¹ ἀρύσασθαι τι χρηστόν.² κελεύει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέροις ἀγέλαις, κατὰ τε ποίμνας καὶ αἰπόλια καὶ βουκόλια, τῆς παραχρῆμα τῶν γεννωμένων ἀπολαύσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, μήτε πρὸς ἐδωδὴν

¹ Mangey wished to read ἀενάου, and Cohn in his translation approved. But εὐμενής applied to things is common enough, e.g. to air, plants, and even to the water of a river (Aeschylus). See examples in Stephanus.

² So one ms. The others τινος χρηστοῦ, which Cohn retained, but in his translation accepted τι χρηστόν. The genitive of the thing drawn as opposed to the source from which it is drawn seems hardly possible.

^a Deut. xxiii. 15, 16 "Thou shalt not deliver to his master a servant who coming (E.V. which is escaped) from his

ON THE VIRTUES, 124-126

refuge with you to obtain protection in fear of his master's threats or through consciousness of some misdeed, or because without having committed any offence, he has found his master generally cruel and merciless, do not disregard his plea.^a For it is a sacrilegious act to surrender a suppliant and the slave is a suppliant who has fled to your hearth as to a temple, where he has a right to obtain sanctuary, and protected from treachery may preferably come to an honest and open agreement, or if that is not possible, be sold as a last resort. For though in changing masters there is no certainty which way the scale will turn, the uncertain evil is not so grave as the acknowledged.

XXV. This is his legislation about compatriots and 125 foreigners, about friends and enemies, about slaves and free and mankind in general. But he carries on the idea of moderation and gentleness to the sphere of irrational animals, and grants them, too, a draught of goodness, as from a sweet and grateful spring. He 126 bids them in dealing with the domestic kinds, sheep, goats and oxen, to abstain from availing themselves of their young, by taking them at once either for food

master has joined himself to thee. He shall dwell with thee, he shall dwell among you, wherever it pleaseth him. Thou shalt not afflict him." Philo interprets this ordinance, which is supposed to apply to a slave escaping from a foreign master, in accordance with Attic law. See App. p. 447.

By ἐκ τριγωνίας he does not mean, as Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 344, seems to suppose, to limit this privilege to slaves of the third generation. Hitherto the ordinances he mentions have applied to others who are born free (οἱ μὴ γένει δοῦλοι, § 123). This privilege extends to those who have no such claim. The μέν is in antithesis to a suppressed statement that *a fortiori* those who are not born in slavery would be entitled to the same.

μήτε ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν λαμβάνοντας. ὥμῃς γὰρ ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἐφεδρεύειν ἀποκνῦσκο-
 μένοις εἰς ἀνυπέρθετον διάζευξιν ἐγγόνων τε αὖ καὶ μητέρων ἔνεκα γαστρὸς ἡδονῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀηδίας ἐκτόπου τινὸς ψυχῆς¹ καὶ παρηλλαγμένης.
 127 φησὶν οὖν τῷ βιωσομένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν· “ὦ γενναῖε, πολλή τίς ἐστὶν ἀφθονία σοι τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, οἷς μέμψις οὐ παρέπεται· συγγνωστὸν γὰρ ἂν ᾦν ἴσως, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἢ ἀπορία καὶ σπάνις δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει. σὺ δὲ καὶ διαφέρειν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ὀφείλεις τὴν καλλίστην τεταγμένους τάξιν, ὑπὸ ταξιάρχῃ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, δι’ ὃν ἡμερώσθαι σε δεῖ μηδὲν σκαιὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παρα-
 128 δεχόμενον.” τί δ’ ἂν εἴῃ σκαιότερον ἢ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ἀποκύνειν ὠδῖσιν ἐπιφέρειν ἕξωθεν ἐτέρας ἐκ τῆς παραχρῆμα τῶν γεννωμένων διαζεύξεως; ἀνάγκη γὰρ σφαδάζειν ἀποσπωμένων, διὰ τινα φυσικὴν μητέρων πρὸς ἕγγονα φιλοστοργίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς κινήσεως καιρὸν, ἐπειδὴ πηγάζοντες οἱ μαστοὶ σπάνει τοῦ θηλάζοντος, ἀνακοπὴν τῆς ἐπιρροίας λαμβανούσης, σκιρροῦνται τε καὶ κατατεινόμενοι τῷ βάρει παγέντος εἴσω τοῦ γά-
 129 λακτος ἀλγηδόσι πιέζονται. “χάρισαι δὴ,” φησί, “τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἕγγονον, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν σύμπαντα
 [397] χρόνον, | ἑπτὰ γοῦν τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας γαλακτο-

¹ Cohn following Mangey brackets *ψυχῆς*, but though the double genitives are awkward, it seems wanted as an antithesis to *γαστρὸς*. The expression anyhow is confused, as it is not the *ἀηδία* but the meal which causes it which is *ἐκτοπος* and *παρηλλαγμένη*.

^a Lev. xxii. 27 “A calf or sheep or goat, whenever it is
 240

ON THE VIRTUES, 126-129

or on the grounds of offering them for sacrifice.^a For he considered that it showed a cruel soul to be lying in wait for the newly born in order to separate instantly mothers and offspring, just to please the belly but still more displease and horrify the soul by so unnatural a meal. He says then to him, whose 127 life would conform to his most holy commonwealth, "Good Sir, food for your enjoyment to which no blame can attach you have in abundance. Otherwise such an action might perhaps be pardonable, since poverty and dearth compel us to do many things which we would not. But your duty is to excel in self-restraint and the other virtues, stationed as you are in the most honourable of posts, captained by nature's right reason, for whose sake you must learn gentleness and admit no brutality into your mind." And what could be more brutal than to bring in from 128 outside other pangs to add to the pangs of travail by separating the mothers straightway from their offspring. For if they are snatched away, the mothers are bound to be in great distress, because of the maternal affection natural to them, particularly at the time of motherhood, when the breasts, whose flowing fountain is obstructed through lack of its suckling, grow indurated and strained by the weight of the milk coagulated within them and suffer a painful oppression. "Make a present," he continues, "of 129 the child to its mother, if not for all time, to be suckled, at least, for the seven first days and do not born, it shall be seven days under its dam, and on the eighth day and beyond it shall be accepted for gifts, for a burnt offering unto the Lord." Ex. xxii. 30 is to the same effect, though only of the firstborn. Assuming that it is humanity which excludes from the altar, Philo might fairly argue that still more would it prohibit them for ordinary eating.

- τροφήσαι, καὶ μὴ ἀνωφελεῖς ἄς ἡ φύσις ὤμβρησε
πηγὰς ἐν μαστοῖς ἐργάσῃ, τὰς δευτέρας αὐτῆς
χάριτας ἀνελών, ἄς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ προμηθοῦς
ἡτοιμάσατο τὰκόλουθον μακρόθεν αἰωνίῳ καὶ τε-
130 λείᾳ φρονήσῃ κατιδοῦσα.¹ προτέρα μὲν γὰρ δω-
ρεὰ γένεσις, δι' ἧς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἄγεται πρὸς τὸ εἶναι,
δευτέρα δὲ γάλακτος ἐπίρροια, τροφή καιρίως
μαλακωτάτη, πᾶν ἀπαλόνυχον ἄρδουσα, ὃ ποτόν
ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ σιτίον.—ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὕδατῶδες τοῦ
γάλακτος, ποτόν, ὅσον δ' ὑποπαχύνεται, σιτίον—
προνοία τοῦ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν τὸ ἀρτίγονον, ἐφ-
εδρενύσης αἰὲ χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν ἐνδείας, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προσφορὰν ἐκατέρας τροφῆς
ἤδη τὰς πικρὰς δεσποίνας, δῦσαν τε καὶ πείναν,
131 ἐκφεύγειν." τοῦτον ἀναγνόντες τὸν νό-
μον, οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ περιμάχῃτοι γονεῖς, ἐγκαλύ-
ψασθε, οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς βρέφεσιν αἰὲ φονῶντες, οἱ κακὴν
ἐφεδρεύνοντες ἐφεδρείαν τοῖς ἀποκυομένοις εἰς ἔκ-
θεσιν, οἱ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους ἄσπονδοι
132 πολέμιοι. τίνι γὰρ δι' εὐνοίας ἀφίξεσθε, γενόμενοι
τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων αὐτόχειρες; οἱ τὰς πόλεις τό γ'
ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἦκον μέρος ἐρημούντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγυτάτω
γένους ἀρξάμενοι τῆς ἀπωλείας, οἱ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως
θεσμοὺς ἀνατρέποντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν οἰκοδομῇ καθ-
αιροῦντες, δι' ἀνημέρου καὶ ἀτιθάσου ψυχῆς ὠμό-

¹ Cohn punctuates with *προτέρα* to the second *σιτίον* as a parenthesis, thus making *προνοία* follow on *ἡτοιμάσατο*, an unnecessarily unwieldy parenthesis. *προνοία* easily follows on *ἄρδουσα* with equally good sense.

^a Lit. "is always lying in wait at different times," a confused expression which may mean as translated above, or
242

ON THE VIRTUES, 129-132

render useless the fountain which nature has rained into the breasts by destroying the second of the boons which her grace distributes, boons prepared by the profound forethought in which with everlasting and consummate wisdom she looks into the distant sequence of events. Her first gift was birth, through 130 which the non-existent is brought into existence, and the second is the efflux of milk, the happily timed aliment which flows so gently fostering the tender growth of every creature. It is at once food and drink, for the watery part of milk is drink, and its denser part food, both provided that the newly born should not suffer from the need, which, never far off, seizes it at different times,^a but with both kinds of nourishment applied in the same single form should at once escape those bitter mistresses, hunger and thirst."

^b Read this law, you good and 131 highly prized parents, and hide your faces for shame, you who ever breathe slaughter against your infants, who mount your wicked watch over them as they leave the womb, waiting to cast them away, you deadly enemies of the whole human race. For to 132 whom will you have any feeling of kindness, you the murderers of your own children, who do what you can to make a desolation of cities and begin the destruction with your own flesh and blood, who overturn the statutes of nature and demolish all that she builds, who in the cruelty of your savage and ferocious

that it sometimes takes the form of hunger and sometimes of thirst.

^b For these three sections *cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 108 ff. As there, in the absence of any direct prohibition of infanticide, Philo argues its wickedness from the criminality ascribed to causing a miscarriage, so here from the mercy shown by the law to new-born animals.

- τητα γενέσει φθορὰν καὶ ζωῇ θάνατον ἐπιτειχίζοντες.
- 133 ἢ οὐχ ὁράτε, ὅτι τῷ πάντα ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐγένετο μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἔγγονα διαζευχθῆναι τῆς τεκούσης, ἄχρισ ἂν γαλακτοτροφηθῇ; τὸ πλεον, ὦ γενναῖοι, δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵν', εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ φύσει, μαθήσει γοῦν ἀναδιδάσκησθε τὸ φιλοοίκειον, εἰς ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους ἀποβλέποντες, οἳ ἐν ἀφθόνοις χορηγαῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τρυφᾶν οὐ κεκώλυνται, τῆς φύσεως μὲν τοιαῦτα παρασκευασαμένης ἐν ἐπιτηδαιοτάτοις χωρίοις, ἐξ ὧν εὐμαρεῖς τοῖς δεησομένοις αἱ ἀπολαύσεις γενήσονται, νομοθέτου δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς προμηθείας ἐφορῶντος, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐμποδίξῃ τὰς ἐνεργέτιδας καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεάς.
- 134 XXVI. Βουλόμενος δὲ πολυτρόποις ιδέαις τὰ ἡμερότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας σπέρματα ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐγκατασπείρειν ἄλλο τίθησι διάταγμα συγγενὲς τοῖς [398] προτέροις, ἀπαγορεύων ἡμέρα τῇ αὐτῇ | συγκαταθύειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ θυτέον, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν χρόνοις γε διαφέρουσιν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀγριότητος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς γενέσεως μετὰ τοῦ ζωογονηθέντος ἡμέρα μιᾷ κτείνειν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ χάριν;
- 135 ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν ἢ διὰ γαστροδὸς ἀπολαυσιν· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα θυσιῶν, ἐπέψυσται καὶ τοῦνομα· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σφάγια, οὐ θυσία. τίς δὲ δὴ καὶ θεοῦ βωμὸς οὕτως ἀνέρα ἱερεῖα προσδέξεται; ποῖον δὲ πῦρ οὐκ ἂν δίχα τμηθὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διασταίῃ φεῦγον τὴν ἐξ ἀμίκτου πράγματος ἔνωσιν; οἶμαι ἂν αὐτὸ μηδὲ πρὸς βραχύτατον ὑπομεῖναι

ON THE VIRTUES, 132-135

souls arm dissolution to fight against generation and death against life? Can you not see that our all-¹³³ excellent lawgiver was at pains to insure that even in the case of irrational animals, the offspring should not be separated from their mother so long as it is being suckled? Still more for your sake, good sirs, was that order given, that if nature does not, instruction may teach you the duty of family love. Learn it from the sight of lambs and kids, who are not hindered from feasting on abundant supplies of what they need. Nature has provided this abundance in places best suited for the purpose, where those who require it will easily find means of enjoyment, while the lawgiver greatly careful for the future looks to see that none interferes with the gifts of God, which bring welfare and safety.

XXVI. So desirous is he to sow in divers forms the¹³⁴ seeds of gentleness and moderation in their minds, that he lays down another enactment of the same nature as the preceding. He forbids them to sacrifice the mother and its offspring on the same day,^a for if they must be sacrificed, at any rate let it be at different times. It is the height of savagery to slay on the same day the generating cause and the living creature generated. And why does anyone do so? It must¹³⁵ either be on the ground of sacrificing or to gratify the belly. If sacrifice is the reason, it gives the lie to the name, for such actions are slaughters, not sacrifices. Which of God's altars will accept oblations so unhallowed; what fire would not fly asunder divided into two, shrinking from union with a thing so ill to blend with? Indeed, I think, it could not last for any time, however short, but would straight-

^a Lev. xxii. 28.

- χρόνον, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα σβεσθῆναι προνοία τινὶ τοῦ μὴ
 τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην πνεύματος φύσιν ὑπὸ
 136 τῆς αἰρομένης φλογὸς μαιίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ θυσιῶν
 χάριν ἀλλὰ θοίνης, τίς οὐκ ἂν τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς γασ-
 τριμαργίας ὀρέξεις προβάλλοιτο καινὰς καὶ παρ-
 ἡλλαγμένας; ἐκτόπους μὲν γὰρ ἡδονὰς οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 μεταδιώκουσι. τίς δὲ ἡδονὴ κρεωφαγοῦσι, γεύσα-
 σθαι σαρκῶν ἐν ταύτῳ μητέρων καὶ ἐγγόνων; ὧν
 εἰ τὰ μέλη τις ἀναμίξει θελήσειεν ἀναπείρων
 ὀβελοῖς, ἢ ὁπτῶν ἐμφορήσαιοτο, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ
 διατελεῖν ἡσυχᾶ, ῥήξειεν δὲ φωνὴν σχετλιάσαντα δι'
 ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινουργηθέντος πάθους καὶ μυρία
 λαιμορρήσεσθαι τῆς λαιμαργίας τοῖς εὐτρεπίζουσιν
 137 ἄσιτον εὐωχίαν. ἀλλ' ὃ γε νόμος ἔξω τῶν περιρ-
 ραντηρίων ἐλαύνει καὶ ὅσα τῶν ζώων κυοφορεῖ, μὴ
 ἐπιτρέπων ἄχρῃς ἂν ἀποτέκη σφαγιάζεσθαι, τὰ
 κατὰ γαστρός ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς ἀποκυηθεῖσιν ἤδη λογι-
 σάμενος, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἴσιν ἔλαχε τάξιν ἃ μὴδ'
 εἰς φῶς πω προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακρόθεν
 ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εὐχέρειαν τῶν εἰωθότων πάντα φύρειν.
 138 εἰ γὰρ τὰ φυτῶν τρόπον ἔτι παραυξανόμενα καὶ
 μέρη νομιζόμενα τῶν κύνων, νυνὶ μὲν ἡνωμένα,
 μηνῶν δὲ περιόδοις αὖθις ἀποσπασθησόμενα τῆς

^a As there is no such prohibition in the law, Philo must mean that it follows logically from the law against killing mother and offspring at the same time. According to Heine-
 mann, *Bildung*, p. 37, the Rabbis had no such rule, but may
 it not have been an accepted or at least a widely acknow-
 ledged principle in Philo's time?

^b The argument in this and the next sections seem to be—
 the unborn child is only potentially a separate creature. This
 is a scientific principle (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iii. 117 f. and note,
 vol. vii. p. 637), but Moses by forbidding it to be killed, as
 246

ON THE VIRTUES, 135-138

way die out, providing as it were that the air and sacred element of breath should not be defiled by the rising flame. If the object is not to sacrifice but to 136 feast thereon, who would not spurn the strange and unnatural craving of this monstrous gluttony? For pleasure in abnormal forms is what such persons pursue, but though they have flesh to eat, what pleasure can they have, when the flesh which they taste is that of mother and offspring together? Indeed, if one should mix the limbs of the two and fix them on the spits to eat of the roast, these limbs, I think, would not remain mute, but break out into speech, indignant at the enormity of the unexampled treatment which they suffer, and hurl a host of invectives against the greediness of those who prepare these meats, fitter for a fast than for a feast. But 137 observe that the law also banishes from the sacred precincts all pregnant animals and does not permit them to be sacrificed until they have been delivered,^a thus counting what is still in the depths of the womb as on the same footing as what has already been brought to the birth, not because creatures not yet advanced into the light rank equally with the others, but by implication to restrain the licence of those whose way is to bring everything to disorder.^b For if the life which is still growing like a plant and 138 reckoned as part of the parent which carries it and now is at one with it, but in the course of months

it would be if animals were killed when pregnant, teaches us that it is still more sacred when born. In this way he is restraining the licence, primarily of those who practise infanticide, but also (§ 140) of all who disregard the rights and interests of others. It is difficult, however, to see the point of the sentence πάντων γὰρ . . . κτείνειν. I should like to think that it is the interpolation of a glossator.

- συμφυίας, διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ γενήσεσθαι ζῶα
 φυλάττεται τῷ περὶ τὰς μητέρας ἀνεπιβουλεύτῳ,
 χάριν τοῦ μὴ τὸ λεχθὲν μίasma συμβῆναι, πῶς οὐχὶ
 μᾶλλον τὰ ἀποτεχθέντα καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ψυχῆς καὶ
 σώματος μεμοιραμένα; πάντων γὰρ ἀνοσιώτατον
 ἐνὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἔγγονον ὁμοῦ καὶ μητέρα
 139 κτείνειν. ἐνθὲνδε μοι δοκοῦσιν ὀρμηθέντες ἔνιοι
 τῶν νομοθετῶν τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς κατακρίτοις γυναιξὶν
 εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὰς ἐγκύους, εἰάν
 ἄξια θανάτου δράσωσιν, φυλάττεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ἀπο-
 τέκωσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναιρουμένων συναπόληται τὰ
 140 κατὰ γαστρός. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων |
 [399] ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν· ὁ δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλων ἔτι ἄχρι
 καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἀπέτεινεν, ἵν' ἐν
 τοῖς ἀνομοιογενέσιν ἀσκήσαντες πολλῇ τινι περιου-
 σίᾳ χρώμεθα φιλανθρωπίας (ἐν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι),¹
 τοῦ μὲν λυπεῖν καὶ ἀντιλυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπεχόμενοι,
 τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα ἀγαθὰ μὴ θησαυροφυλακοῦντες, ἀλλ'
 εἰς μέσον προφέροντες καθάπερ συγγενέσι καὶ ἐκ
 141 φύσεως ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν
 τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μισανθρωπία διαβαλλέτωσαν, τοὺς
 δὲ νόμους ὡς ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα παραγέλ-
 λοντας αἰτιάσθωσαν οἱ δεινοὶ συκοφάνται, φανερώς
 οὕτως τῶν μὲν νόμων ἐλέου μεταδιδόντων καὶ ταῖς
 τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγέλαις, τοῦ δὲ ἔθνους ταῖς ἐκ
 πρώτης ἡλικίας νομίμοις ὑφηγήσεσιν ὅσον ἐν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς ἀπειθὲς μεθαρμοζομένου πρὸς τὸ τιθασόν.
 142 ἐπαποδύεται δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐπ-

¹ Inserted by Cohn from Clement, who repeats this clause almost verbatim. (Possibly, however, an addition by Clement; Philo may have thought that *φιλανθρωπία* in itself expressed the antithesis.)

will be severed from the common organism, is, in the hope that it will become a living animal, safeguarded by the invulnerability of the mother, to prevent the occurrence of the above said defilement, how much more is this the case with the creatures already brought to the birth and endued with a body and soul of their own? For it is the very height of unholiness to kill mother and offspring on the same occasion and on the same day. It was on this principle, I think, that some 139 legislators introduced the law that condemned women who commit deeds worthy of death should, if pregnant, be kept in custody until the child is born, lest their execution should carry with it the destruction of the life within the womb.^a These 140 decrees of theirs apply to human beings, but Moses rising to a further height extended the duty of fair treatment even to irrational animals, so that by practising on creatures of dissimilar kind we may show humanity in a far fuller measure to beings of like kind to ourselves, abstaining from strokes and counter-strokes to vex each other, and not hoarding our personal good things as treasures, but throwing them into the common stock for all in every place, as for kinsmen and brothers by nature. After 141 this let those clever libellers continue, if they can, to accuse the nation of misanthropy and charge the laws with enjoining unsociable and unfriendly practices, when these laws so clearly extend their compassion to flocks and herds, and our people through the instructions of the law learn from their earliest years to correct any wilfulness of souls to gentle behaviour.

But so prolific is he in virtue and 142

^a See App. p. 447.

αγωνίζεται πολύγονος ὢν ἀρετῆς καί τινι εὐτροπία
 χρώμενος πρὸς τὰς καλὰς ὑφηγήσεις· κελεύσας γάρ,
 πρὶν ἀποτίτθον γενέσθαι, μὴ ἀποσπᾶν τῆς τεκούσης
 μήτε ἄρνα μήτε ἔριφον μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀγέλαις, καὶ προσδιαταξάμενος μηδὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 κτείνειν μητέρα καὶ ἔγγονον, ἐπιδαψιλεύεται φά-
 σκων· “οὐχ ἐψήσεις ἄρνα ἐν γάλακτι μητρός.”

- 143 πάνυ γὰρ ἄτοπον ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὴν τροφὴν ζῶντος
 ἡδυσμα γενέσθαι καὶ παράρτυσιν ἀναιρεθέντος καὶ
 τὴν μὲν φύσιν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς διαμονῆς
 ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα, ὃ διὰ μαστῶν τῆς τεκούσης οἶα
 δεξαμενῶν φέρεσθαι διετάξατο, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἀκρασίαν τοσοῦτον ἐπιβῆναι, ὥς τῷ τῆς ζωῆς
 αἰτίῳ καταχρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑπολοίπου
- 144 σώματος ἀνάλωσιν. εἰ δὴ τις¹ ἐν γάλακτι κρέα
 συνέψιν ἀξιοῖ, μὴ σὺν ὠμότητι, χωρὶς δὲ ἀσεβείας
 ἐψέτω· μυρίαί θρεμμάτων εἰσὶν ἀγέλαι πανταχοῦ
 καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀμελγόμεναι διὰ βου-
 κόλων αἰπόλων ποιμένων, οἷς κτηνοτροφοῦσιν ἡ
 μεγίστη πρόσοδός ἐστι γάλα, τῇ μὲν κεχυμένον, τῇ
 δὲ συνεσταλμένον τε καὶ πηγνύμενον εἰς τυρόν·
 ὥστε ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης τὸν² ἄρνων ἢ ἐρίφων ἢ
 τινος ἑτέρου γάλακτι μητρώῳ κρέα συνέψιντα
 χαλεπὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τρόπων σκαιότητα, τὸ ἀναγ-
 καιότατον καὶ συγγενέστατον λογικῇ ψυχῇ πάθος
 ἐκτετμημένον, τὸν ἔλεον.

- 145 XXVII. Ἄγαμαι δὲ κακῆινον τὸν νόμον, ὃς
 καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ παναρμονίῳ συνάδων τοῖς προ-

¹ MSS. εἰ δὴ τὰ οἱ ἐπειδὴ τὰ.

² MSS. τῶν.

ON THE VIRTUES, 142-145

versatile in giving admirable lessons, that not content with his own prowess, he challenges it to a further contest. He has forbidden any lamb or kid or other like kind of livestock to be snatched away from its mother before it is weaned. He has also forbidden the killing of the mother and offspring on the same day. He now crowns his bounty with the words "Thou shalt not seethe a lamb in his mother's milk."^a For he held that it was grossly improper that the 143 substance which fed the living animal should be used to season and flavour the same after its death, and that while nature provided for its conservation by creating the stream of milk and ordaining that it should pass through the mother's breasts as through conduits, the licence of man should rise to such a height as to misuse what had sustained its life to destroy also the body which remains in existence. If indeed anyone thinks good to boil flesh in milk, 144 let him do so without cruelty and keeping clear of impiety. Everywhere there are herds of cattle innumerable, which are milked every day by cow-herds, goat-herds and shepherds, whose chief source of income as cattle rearers is milk, sometimes liquid and sometimes condensed and coagulated into cheese; and since milk is so abundant, the person who boils the flesh of lambs or kids or any other young animal in their mother's milk, shows himself cruelly brutal in character and gelded of compassion, that most vital of emotions and most nearly akin to the rational soul.

XXVII. I also admire another law attuned to the 145 harmonious choir of those above mentioned. This

^a Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xiv. 21; in LXX "lamb" in every case.

τέροις διαγορεύει, βούν ἀλοῶντα μὴ φιμοῦν. οὗτος
 [400] γάρ | ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸ μὲν τῆς σπορᾶς [οὔσης] τῆς
 βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ἀνατέμνων τὰς αὐλακας καὶ
 προετοιμασάμενος οὐρανῶ καὶ γεωπόνῳ τὰς ἀρού-
 ρας, τῷ μὲν ἵνα καιρίως κατασπεύρῃ, τῷ δ' ἵνα
 κόλποι βαθεῖς ὑποδεξάμενοι τὰς διὰ τῶν ὑετῶν
 χάριτας ταμιεύωσι καὶ χορηγῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ'
 ὀλίγον τῷ σπόρῳ τροφὰς πίονας, ἄχρισ ἂν σταχυη-
 φορήσας τελειογονήσῃ τὸν ἐτήσιον καρπὸν· μετὰ
 δὲ τὴν τελείωσιν πάλιν βούς ἐστι πρὸς ἑτέραν
 ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναγκαῖος, κάθαρσιν δραγμάτων καὶ
 διάκρισιν σκυβάλων ἀπὸ τοῦ γνησίου καὶ χρησίμου.

- 146 'Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν <ἐπὶ> τοῖς [γῆν] ἀλοῶσι βουσὶν
 ἡμερον καὶ χρηστὴν πρόσταξιν εἶπον, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς <γῆν> ἀρούσι θρέμμασι τεθέντα νόμον ἐξῆς
 δίδειμι τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντα συγγενείας. ἀπαγορεύει γάρ
 ἐν ταύτῳ καταζευγνύναι πρὸς ἄροτον γῆς βούν καὶ
 ὄνον, οὐ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀνοικείου στοχασά-
 μενος, διότι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ καθαρὸν, ὄνος δὲ τῶν οὐ
 καθαρῶν, τὰ δὲ οὕτως ἡλλοτριωμένα συνάγειν οὐ
 πρέπει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν ἐστὶν ἄνισα,
 προμηθεῖται δὲ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, ὥς μὴ πρὸς
 δυνατωτέρας βίας θλίβηται καὶ προσπιέζεται· καί-
 τοι τὸ μὲν ἀσθενέστερον, ὄνος, ἔξω περιρραντηρίων
 ἐλαύνεται, τὸ δὲ ἔρρωμενέστερον, βούν, ἐν ταῖς
 147 τελειοτάταις θυσίαις νόμος ἱερουργεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἀσθενείας ὠλιγώρησεν
 οὔτε τοῖς καθαροῖς ἐφῆκεν ἰσχυῖ πρὸ δίκης χρήσθαι,

^a Deut. xxv. 4.

^b Deut. xxii. 10, cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 205, 206. The treatment here is the same and the moral also, with the difference that
 252

ON THE VIRTUES, 145-147

law forbids muzzling the ox when it treads out the corn.^a It is the ox who, before the deep soiled lowlands receive the seed, cleaves the furrows and sets the fields ready for heaven and the husbandman ; for the husbandman that he may sow the seed in due season, for heaven that its kindly gifts of rain may be received in the deep hollows which store them up and deal them out part by part as rich nourishment to the crop, until it brings forth first the ear and then the consummation of the yearly fruit. And after that consummation the ox is again necessary for another service, to purge the sheaves and sift the refuse from the genuine and useful material.

But since I have mentioned the kindly and bene- 146
volent injunction on behalf of the oxen when treading the corn, I will cite next the law enacted in behalf of cattle which plough the land.^b This is a law of the same family. It forbids the yoking together of an ox and an ass for ploughing the land, and has in view not merely the incongruity of the animals, since the ox is clean and the ass belongs to the unclean, and it is not fitting to put together creatures so alien in status, but also their disparity of strength. It takes thought for the weaker, and would not have them suffer discomfort or oppression from superior force, and although the weaker, the ass, is banished from the sacred precincts and the stronger, the ox, is accepted by the law as a victim in sacrifices where 147
perfection is most required, it did not despise the weakness of the unclean, nor permit the clean to

there the judge is admonished to do justice to the low-born, here all are encouraged to show kindness to men of other nations, meaning mainly no doubt the proselytes, consideration for whom figures so much throughout this treatise.

μόνον οὐκ ἄντικρυς βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς τοῖς ὦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, μηδένα τῶν ἑτεροεθνῶν ἀδικεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔχοντας αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἄλλογενές. ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον· ὅσα γὰρ μήτε κακία μήτε ἀπὸ κακιῶν ἔξω παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἴσταται.

148 XXVIII. Ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς πάλιν πλουσίως αὐτῷ καὶ κατακόρως χρῆται, μετιῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν λογικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλογα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά, περὶ ὧν αὐτίκα λεκτέον, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν προτέρων, ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν

149 ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται, λέλεκται. διείρηκε τοίνυν ἄντικρυς μήτε δενδροτομεῖν ὅσα τῆς ἡμέρου ὕλης μήτε κείρειν ἐπὶ λύμῃ πρὸ καιροῦ σταχυηφοροῦσαν πεδιάδα μήτε συνόλως καρπὸν διαφθεῖρειν, ἵνα περιουσία μὲν τροφῶν ἀφθόνων χορηγῇται τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος, περιουσιάζῃ δὲ¹ μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον βίον. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς εἰς τροφήν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκριθείς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀβροδίαιτον βίον αἱ τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀμύθητοι ποικιλίαι γίνονται δὲ ἐν ἐνδείαις αὐταὶ πολλάκις καὶ τροφαὶ
150
[401] δεύτεραι. XXIX. | καὶ προσυπερβάλλων οὐδὲ τὴν

¹ Cohn writes περιουσία ζῇ δὲ—a strange position for δὲ. On the other hand περιουσίαζω seems to be constructed with the dative. Most mss. have simply ζῇ. Perhaps read ζῇ δὲ μὴ μόνον <ἀπὸ> τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

^a The argument in these sections, 149-154, is very involved. They are all based on Deut. xx. 19, which forbids cutting down the fruit trees in an enemy's country (*cf. Spec. Leg.* iv. 226 f.). The verse "Is the tree a man that it should be besieged by thee?" (*i.e.* trees are innocent things) applies to fruit trees under all circumstances and therefore forbids
254

ON THE VIRTUES, 147-150

employ strength rather than justice. Those whose souls have ears can almost hear it speaking plainly in a voice loud and insistent that we should do no wrongs to men of other nations, if we can accuse them of nothing save difference of race, which is no matter for accusation, since nothing which is neither vice nor springs from vice is liable to any impeachment.

XXVIII. So generously does he bestow his mercy 148 that he shows it further in all its richness and profusion by passing, first from rational beings to the irrational, and from the irrational to plants and vegetation. I must proceed at once to these last, as we have treated the first two classes, mankind and those who are endued with animal life. ^a On this 149 third subject he gives the plain direction that no trees of the cultivated type are to be cut down, nor the lowland fields mischievously mown in the ear-bearing stage before the proper time, and in general no fruit is to be destroyed, in order that the human race may be well supplied with a rich stock of abundant kinds of food, and that this rich stock may consist, not only of necessities, but also of things which make life comfortable. For the fruit of the corn-field is set apart as a necessary for the sustenance of men, but the numberless varieties of tree-fruits provide the comfortable life, and often in times of dearth a second line of sustenance. XXIX. Rising to a still higher pitch he for- 150

mischievous maltreatment of them (§ 149). This applies *even* to trees in an enemy's country, where if anywhere it might be thought justifiable (§ 150), and here besides the general argument of the innocence of plants (§ 150 and again § 154) there is a further reason, which has nothing to do with the main point, viz. that when peace is restored we shall regret that such a devastation leaves a feeling of resentment (§§ 151-153).

τῶν πολεμίων χώραν τέμνειν ἑᾶ, παραγγέλλει δ' ἀνέχειν δενδροτομιῶν καὶ δηώσεων, ἄτοπον ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀργὴν ἀποσκή-
 151 πτειν εἰς τὰ μηδενὸς αἷτια κακοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀξιοῖ μὴ μόνον τὸ παρὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν ὀξυωπία λογισμοῦ καθορᾶσθαι, μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένοντος ἀλλὰ πάντων τροπαῖς καὶ μεταβολαῖς χρωμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς τέως δυσμενεῖς ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους καὶ συμβατηρίων ἄρξαντας ἐνσπόνδους αὐτίκα γενέ-
 152 σθαι. φίλους δὲ τροφῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποστερεῖν χαλεπόν, μηδὲν ταμειυσαμένους τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλόγητα. πάνυ γὰρ ἐκείνο καλῶς εἴρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὅτι καὶ φιλίας κοινωνητέον μὴ ἀπογινώσκοντας ἔχθραν καὶ προσκρουστέον ὡς φιλίας ἐσομένης, ἵνα ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει ταμιεύηται τι τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ μὴ ἀπογυμνωθεῖς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις μετανοῇ, τῆς ἄγαν εὐχερείας, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος, αἰτιώμενος ἑαυ-
 153 τόν. τὸ λόγιον τοῦτο χρή φυλάττειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ προνοουμένας τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην, καὶ μήτε τοῖς συμ-

^a Or perhaps "a sad pity," "a painful thing," i.e. to ourselves, which will agree better with the interpretation of ταμειυσαμένους given in the next note.

^b *Prima facie* the natural way of taking ταμειυσαμένους is in agreement with φίλους, "to deprive our (potential) friends of necessities, who thereby lay nothing by," etc. So Cohn and Mangey, and no doubt this makes good sense in itself. But it has no bearing on the sequel, which repeating the verb ταμιεύομαι dwells on the need of providing for the time when we should be on friendly terms and regret if we have done anything which could prevent this. Grammatically ταμειυ-

ON THE VIRTUES, 150-153

bids them to devastate the land even of their enemies and enjoins them to abstain from cutting down trees and other forms of ravaging, holding it to be against all reason that indignation against men should be visited on things which are not guilty of any misdeed. But further, he calls upon them to look not only to the present, but, as though from some far-off height, with the keen-sighted vision of reason to consider the future also. For no one continues in the same stay, but all things are subject to vicissitudes and mutations, so that it may be expected that our enemies for the time may send ambassadors to initiate negotiations and straightway come to amicable terms. Now as friends it would be a great hardship ^a to deprive them of the necessities of life and by so doing lay nothing by ^b which may be of service to meet the uncertainty of the future. It is a very admirable saying of the ancients ^c that in joining friendship we should not ignore the possibility of enmity, and conduct our quarrels with future friendship in view, so that every-one in his own nature ^d lays by something to ensure his safety, and does not, through having neither deeds nor words to clothe his nakedness, repent the past and blame himself when it is no use, for his overcarelessness. This maxim should also be observed by states, who in peace should provide for the needs of war and in war for the needs of peace and be slow to trust

σαμείους can agree just as well with the subject of *ἀποστερεῖν* as with *φίλους*. By conducting war humanely we lay up something to serve us in time of peace—a fine and sagacious thought.

^c See App. p. 448.

^d Or “which becomes part of himself.” The meaning as I understand it is that actions of kindness affect a man's nature and give him something to fall back upon.

μάχοις ἀνέδην προπιστεύειν ὥς οὐ χρησομένοις
 μεταβολῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις
 εἰς ἅπαν ἀπιστεῖν ὥς οὐ δυνησομένοις ποτέ μεθορ-
 154 μίσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔνσπονδον. εἰ μέντοι καὶ μηδὲν
 ὑπὲρ ἐχθροῦ πρακτέον δι' ἐλπίδα καταλλαγῶν, οὐδὲν
 ἐχθρὸν φυτόν, ἀλλ' ἔνσπονδα πάντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα,
 τὰ δ' ἡμερα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ὁ καρ-
 πὸς ἢ τροφή ἐστίν ἢ ἰσότημον τροφῇ κτῆμα. τί δὴ
 δεῖ πεπολεμῶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μὴ πολέμια τέμνοντας
 ἢ καίοντας ἢ ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἀνασπῶντας, ἅπερ αὐτῇ
 ἢ φύσιν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροαῖς καὶ εὐκρασίαις ἀέρων
 ἐτελειογόνησε, δασμοὺς ἐτησίους οἷσοντα ἀνθρώποις
 οἷα βασιλεῦσιν;

155 Ἐμέλησε δ' αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ προστάτῃ τὴν
 ἀλειπτικὴν¹ μὴ μόνον ζώοις ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτοῖς ἰσχύ-
 τε καὶ ῥώμην ἀπεργάσασθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς
 ἡμέροις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πλείονος ἄξια φροντίδος ἐστὶ
 καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀγρίοις εὖτονα, γεωργικῆς
 156 ἐπιστήμης δεόμενα πρὸς κραταιότεραν δύναμιν.
 [402] κελεύει γὰρ τὰ νεόφυτα τῶν δένδρων ἐπὶ | τριετίαν
 ἐξῆς τιθηνεῖσθαι τὰς τε περιττὰς ἐπιφύσεις ἀπο-
 τέμνοντας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βαρυνόμενα πιέζεσθαι καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακερματιζομένης τῆς τροφῆς δι'
 ἔνδειαν ἐξασθενεῖν, γυροῦν τε καὶ περισκάπτειν, ἵνα

¹ So Cohn from S ἀληπτικὴν. The other mss. ἀληπτον γῆν. Mangey proposed ἀθηπτικὴν.

^a Or "as means of sustenance," meaning presumably as in § 149 that the fruits become necessities in times of dearth, but are delicacies at other times.

^b If the text is right the meaning may be as translated, or perhaps as Cohn "the strength which trains or equips." But it is also possible to take τὴν ἀλειπτικὴν (sc. τέχνην) as accusative of respect after ἀγαθῷ = "good at training."

ON THE VIRTUES, 153-156

their allies too freely, assuming that they will never change and become opponents, nor yet absolutely distrust their enemies as though they could never pass over into amity. But even if we need not do 154 anything to help an enemy in hope of reconciliation, no plant is our enemy, but they are all pacific and serviceable, while the cultivated kind are particularly necessary, as their fruit is either food in the full sense^a or a possession as valuable as food. Why then should we carry on hostilities against trees which are not hostile, by cutting them down or burning them or pulling them up by the roots—these trees, which nature itself has brought to their fullness with the waters which it showers and the breezes which it tempers so happily, that they may pay their yearly tributes to mankind as subjects to a king?

Like a good guardian he was also concerned to 155 produce the strength and robustness which training gives,^b not only in animals but in plants, particularly in the cultivated kind, since they deserve more care and have not the same vigour as the wild species, but need the husbandman's science to give them greater force and power. He bids them nurse the newly 156 planted trees for three successive years,^c both by cutting off their superfluous overgrowths, to save them from being oppressed by the weight and starved into exhaustion through the subdivision of the nutriment, and also by digging rings and trenches around

^a Lev. xix. 23 (for the allegorical treatment *cf. De Plant.* 95). E.V. "Ye shall count the fruit thereof as their uncircumcision." But LXX "Ye shall purge away its uncleanness," which vague hint Philo develops into the horticultural operations which follow. His main point, however, that the fruit is not to be plucked till the fourth year, is scriptural.

- μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ζημία παραναβλαστάνῃ τὴν αὔξησιν
 κωλύον· τὸν τε καρπὸν οὐκ ἔα δρέπεσθαι κατὰ
 μετουσίαν ἀπολαύσεως, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ ἀτελὴς ἔξ
 ἀτελῶν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι—καὶ γὰρ τῶν ζώων ὅσα
 μὴ τέλεια οὐ τελειογονεῖ—, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι βλάπτε-
 σθαι τὰ νεόφυτα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ χαμαίζηλα¹ ἔμελλε
 157 κωλυόμενα ἔρνοῦσθαι. πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν γεωπόνων
 ἕαρος ὥρας ἐπιτηροῦσι τὰ νέα τῶν δένδρων, ἵνα ὅν
 ἂν τέκη καρπὸν εὐθὺς ἀποθλίβωσι, πρὶν ἐπίδοσιν
 καὶ συναύξησιν λαβεῖν, φόβῳ τῆς τῶν τεκόντων
 ἀσθενείας. συμβαίνει γάρ, εἰ μὴ προφυλάξαιτό τις,
 ὅτε χρή τελειωθέντα καρπὸν φέρειν, ἀγονεῖν ἢ
 ἀμβλίσκειν ἐξασθενήσαντα τῷ πρὸ καιροῦ πονη-
 θῆναι φοραῖς, ὥς αἱ πάσαι κληματίδες ἐπηχθισμέναι
 158 ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἐκτρύχουσι τὰ στελέχη. μετὰ δὲ
 τριετίαν, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ῥίζαι βαθύνωσι προσεχόμεναι
 τῷ ἐδάφει κραταιότερον, τὸ δὲ στέλεχος ὥσπερ
 ἀκλινέσι θεμελίοις ἐπερηρισμένον αὐξήσῃ σὺν εὐ-
 τονίᾳ, δυνήσεται τελειογονεῖν ἔτει τετάρτῳ κατὰ
 159 τέλειον ἀριθμὸν τετράδα. τετράδι δὲ κελεύει μὴ
 δρέπεσθαι τὸν καρπὸν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅλον

¹ Cohn (in translation) wished to insert ἔσεσθαι. Mangey proposed *χθαμαλοῦσθαι* for *χαμαίζηλα*. See note a.

^a Cohn translates “because the young plants injured thereby and prevented from growing up would rise too little above the ground,” thus taking *βλάπτεσθαι* as a participle, and *χαμαίζηλα* = *χαμαίζηλα ἔσεσθαι*. Mangey seems also to connect *χαμαίζηλα* with *ἔμελλεν* by his *χθαμαλοῦσθαι*. But the version given above, which takes *βλάπτεσθαι* with *ἔμελλε*, seems to present no difficulty. Why picking the fruit should have this result remains unexplained in either version. The next section suggests that he means that the fruit should not be

them, so that nothing mischievous may spring up at their side and hinder their growth. Also he does not permit them to pick the fruit to get enjoyment, not only because from the incomplete plant only incomplete fruit could come, just as animals not fully grown are not fully ripe for breeding, but also because of the damage it would do to the young plants, which are still, so to speak, lying low just above the ground, by preventing them from shooting.^a Thus many 157 farmers during the spring season watch the young trees to squeeze off at once any fruit they bear before they advance in quality and size, for fear of weakening the parent plants. For, if these precautions are not taken, the result is that when they should bear fully ripened fruit they bring forth either nothing at all or abortions nipped in the bud, exhausted as they are by the labour of prematurely bearing the crops which lay such a weight upon the branches that at last they wear out the trunk and roots as well. But 158 after three years when the roots have sunk deep^b in and are more firmly attached to the soil, and the trunk supported as it were on immovable foundations has grown and acquired vigour, it will be able to bear fully in the fourth year in harmony with the perfect number four.^c But in this fourth year he commands 159 them not to pluck the fruit for their own enjoyment

allowed to grow to a stage in which it could be picked for enjoyment.

^b βαθύνω here intransitive as in *De Post.* 118. This use is not noted in Stephanus, and in L. & S. revised quoted only from Philo.

^c Lev. xix. 24 "In the fourth year all this fruit shall be holy for praise (αἰνέσις) to the Lord." For the perfections of four cf. *De Op.* 47-54. They are connected with this particular text in *De Abr.* 13, *De Plant.* 117.

- αὐτὸν καθιεροῦν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ θεῷ, τῇ μὲν τῶν προγεγονότων χαριστήριον, τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον εὐκαρπίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο προσοδεύ-
 160 εσθαι. ὁρᾷς ὅσον τὸ ἴλεων καὶ χρηστὸν ἐπιδείκνυται καὶ ὥς ἀνακέχυκεν αὐτὸ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρῶτον, κἂν ἀλλόφυλός τις ἢ ἐχθρὸς ᾗ, εἶτα ζώων ἀλόγων, κἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ καθαρά, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι σπαρτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ δένδρων. ὃ τε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀφαντάστοις φύσεσι προμαθὼν ἐπιείκειαν εἰς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένων ἐξαμάρτοι, ὃ τε μὴ ἐπιχειρῶν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκεται τῶν λογικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
- 161 XXX. Τοιαύταις ὑφήγησεν τὰς διανοίας τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτευομένων ἐξημερώσας ὑπεροψίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας, ἀργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἐπαχθεστάτων κακῶν, διέξευξεν, ὧν ὡς μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν οἱ πολλοὶ περιέχονται, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν πλοῦτοι καὶ δόξαι καὶ ἡγεμονίαι περιουσίας ἀφθόνους χορη-
 162 γῶσιν. ἀλαζονεία γὰρ φύεται καὶ ἐν ἡμελημένοις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ψυχῆς παθῶν τε καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων,
 [403] τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πλέον παραύξησιν οὐ | λαμβάνει, ἀλλ' οἷα πυρὸς οὐσία διὰ σπάνιν ὕλης ἀμαυροῦται· περιφαίνεται δ' ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις χορηγοῦς ὡς ἔφην ἔχουσι τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ πλούτους καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ὧν ὑποπλησθέντες καθάπερ οἱ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐμφορησάμενοι μεθύουσι καὶ ἐμ-

^a Or as Cohn "in after years."

^b Incapable of receiving impressions (*φαντασίαι*). For the conception see particularly *Quod Deus* 43 f.

^c Lit. "the essence of fire." Cohn translates οὐσία by

ON THE VIRTUES, 159-162

but to dedicate the whole of it as a first fruit to God, partly as a thank-offering for the past, partly in hope of fertility to come and the acquisition of wealth to which this will lead.^a You see how great is the kindness and graciousness which he shows, and how liberally he has spread it on every kind, first of men, even though it be an alien or an enemy, then of irrational animals, even though they be unclean, and last of all of sown crops and also trees. For he who has first learnt the lesson of fairness in dealing with the unconscious^b forms of existence will not offend against any that are endued with animal life, and he who does not set himself to molest the animal creation is trained by implication to extend his care to reasonable beings. 160

XXX. With such instructions he tamed and softened 161 the minds of the citizens of his commonwealth and set them out of the reach of pride and arrogance, evil qualities, grievous and noxious in the highest degree, though embraced as most excellent by the majority of men, particularly when riches and distinctions and high offices bestow their gifts in unstinted superabundance. For arrogance springs up in the insignificant and obscure, as does each of the other passions and diseases and distempers of the soul, though it does not increase to any extent and grows dull as fire^c does for want of its essential fuel. But it is conspicuous in the great, who as I have said are amply provided with the evil thing by riches and distinctions and high offices and so charged with these, like men who have drunk deep of strong wine, become intoxicated and vent their sottish rage on 162

“element,” but the idea is rather that it is the essence of fire to require fuel.

- παροινούσι δούλοις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλευθέροις, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὄλαις πόλεσι. "τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν,"
- 163 ὡς ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγος. διὸ παγκάλως Μωυσῆς ἱεροφαντῶν παραινεῖ πάντων μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπέχεσθαι, διαφερόντως δὲ ὑπεροψίας. εἴθ' ὑπόμνησιν ποιεῖται τῶν μὲν ἀναφλέγειν τὸ πάθος εἰωθότων, πλησμονῆς γαστρὸς ἀμέτρου καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀφθόνου περιουσίας· γίνονται γὰρ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀκράτορες, διαιρόμενοι καὶ φυσώμενοι, οἷς μία θεραπείας ἐλπίς τὸ μη-
- 164 δέποτε ἐκλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνατείλαντος ἡλίου τὸ μὲν σκότος ἀφανίζεται, φωτὸς δὲ πληροῦται τὰ πάντα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅταν θεός, ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος, ἀνάσχη καὶ ἐπιλάμψη ψυχῇ, ὁ μὲν τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ζόφος ἀνασκιδναται, τῆς δ' αὐγοειδεστάτης ἀρετῆς τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ ἀξιέραστον εἶδος ἐπιφαίνεται.
- 165 XXXI. στέλλειν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ καθαιρεῖν ὑπεροψίαν ἀξιῶν τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγει, δι' ἧς ἄλυστον ἔχρην τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην ἀγαλματοφορεῖν. "οὗτος γάρ σοι" φησί "δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν". ἄγαν παιδευτικῶς· ὁ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδαχθεῖς, ὅτι δῶρον εἴληφε παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ εὐτονον καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσθένειαν ἐκλογιζόμενος, ἣν πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς δωρεᾶς εἶχε, τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑπέραυχον φρόνημα διώσεται καὶ εὐχαριστήσῃ τῷ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίῳ μεταβολῆς.

^a A proverbial phrase often used in slightly different forms by Philo, but here only noted as a quotation. The earliest writers in whom it is found are Solon and Theognis.

^b From this section to the end we have a homily on Deut. viii. 11 ff.

ON THE VIRTUES, 162-165

slave and free alike and sometimes on whole cities. For "satiety begets insolence,"^a as the ancients have said. ^b And therefore Moses in his work as Revealer 163 admirably exhorts them to abstain from all sins, but especially from pride. Then he reminds them of the causes which are wont to inflame this passion, unlimited means of satisfying the belly and unstinted superabundance of houses and land and cattle. For men at once lose their self-mastery, and are elated and puffed up, and the one hope of their cure is that they should never lose the remembrance of God.^c For as when the sun has risen the darkness disappears, 164 and all things are filled with light, so when God, the spiritual sun, rises and shines upon the soul, the gloomy night of passions and vices is scattered, and virtue reveals the peerless brightness of her form in all its purity and loveliness. XXXI. And 165

judging it well still further to repress and destroy pride, he recites the reasons why they should keep the memory of God, as an image enshrined, never to be forgotten. "For He," he says, "gives thee strength to make power"^d—words full of instruction, for he who has been carefully taught that his vigour and robustness is a gift received from God will take account of his own natural weakness, the weakness which was his before he enjoyed the gift of God, and will thrust aside the spirit of lofty arrogance and give thanks to Him who brought about the happy change. And

^c Verses 12-14 "Lest when thou hast eaten . . . thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God."

^d Verse 18. E.V. "He giveth thee power to make wealth." Philo has elsewhere (*De Sac.* 56, *De Agr.* 172) quoted the LXX form "strength to make power," as meaning the same as E.V. The fine turn he gives to it here is an example of his utilizing any valuable sense of which the words are capable.

- ψυχὴ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἀλαζονείᾳ πολέμιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 166 τοῦναντίον ἀχαριστία συγγενὲς ὑπεροψία. εἰάν
 δέ, φησίν, εὐρωστῇ σοι τὰ πράγματα, λαβὼν καὶ
 κτησάμενος ἰσχύν, ἣν ἴσως οὐ προσεδόκησας, ποιεῖ
 δύναμιν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀκριβωτέον τοῖς μὴ
 πάνυ συνορῶσι τὸ δηλούμενον. πολλοὶ τὰ ἐναντία
 ὦν εὖ πεπόνθασι δρᾶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ πλουτή-
 σαντες πενίαν ἄλλοις κατασκευάζουσιν ἢ δόξης
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐπὶ μέγα μετασχόντες ἀδοξίας καὶ
 167 ἀτιμίας ἐτέροις αἴτιοι γίνονται. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 φρόνιμον ἀγχίνους, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα, τοὺς πλησιάζ-
 οντας κατασκευάζειν καὶ τὸν σώφρονα ἐγκρατεῖς
 καὶ γενναίους τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸν δίκαιον δικαίους
 καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς τὸν ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς
 ἔοικε δυνάμεις, ὧν ὁ γε ἀστεῖος ὡς οἰκειοτάτων
 [404] περιέξεται· ἀδυναμία δὲ καὶ ἀσθένεια, τὰ ἐναντία,
 168 σπουδαίων ἀλλότρια ἡθῶν. ἄλλως τε καὶ μάθημα
 ἀναδιδάσκει τῇ λογικῇ φύσει πρεπωδέστατον,
 μιμῆσθαι θεὸν καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε, μηδὲν παρα-
 λιπόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐξομοίωσιν.
 XXXII. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, φησίν, ἔλαβες ἰσχύν παρὰ
 τοῦ δυνατωτάτου, μετάδος ἄλλοις ἰσχύος διαθεῖς ὁ
 ἔπαθες, ἵνα μιμήσῃ θεὸν τῷ παραπλήσια χαρί-
 169 ζεσθαι. κοινωφελεῖς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ πρώτου ἡγεμόνος
 δωρεαί, ἃς δίδωσιν ἐνίοις, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκεῖνοι λαβόντες
 ἀποκρύψωσιν ἢ καταχρήσωνται πρὸς ζημίαν ἐτέ-
 ρων, ἀλλ' ἵν' εἰς μέσον προενεγκόντες ὥσπερ ἐν

^a i.e. "at producing them in others." περιέχομαι in the sense of "aim at" is found, though not very commonly, and
 266

ON THE VIRTUES, 165-169

the thankful soul is the enemy of arrogance, just as conversely unthankfulness is akin to pride. What 166 he means to say is "if thy fortunes are thriving and lusty, if thou hast received and gained possession of strength, which perhaps thou didst not expect, make power." What this signifies must be clearly explained to those who fail to discern the full meaning. Many persons try to do to others the opposite of the good which they have experienced. They become rich and make others poor, or having received a great measure of glory and honour they bring about ingloriousness and dishonour to others. Rather 167 should the wise man, as far as possible, impart to his neighbours his sagacity, the continent his temperance, the valiant his gallantry, the just his justice, and in general the good his goodness. For these are evidently powers, and the man of worth will aim at^a these as most akin to himself, while impotence and weakness, their opposites, are alien to upright character. Especially does he give this lesson as most 168 suitable to the rational nature that a man should imitate God as much as may be and leave nothing undone that may promote such assimilation as is possible.^b XXXII. "When then," he says, "you have received strength from the most powerful, give of your strength to others and do to them as has been done to you, that you may imitate God by bestowing freely boons of the same kind. For the gifts of the 169 Chief Ruler are of universal benefit, given to some, not to be hidden by them when received, nor misused to harm others, but thrown into the common stock

this best suits the general sense. Otherwise "will cling to them as his most cherished possessions."

^b See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 188 (App. p. 436).

- δημοθουινία πάντας ὅσους οἶόν τε καλέσωσιν ἐπὶ
 170 τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αὐτῶν. λέγομεν οὖν
 καὶ τῷ πολυχρημάτῳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ εὐέκτῃ καὶ
 ἐπιστήμονι, πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους εὐέκτας τε
 καὶ ἐπιστήμονας καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς ἀπεργά-
 ζεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ φθόνον καὶ
 βασκανίαν ἀρετῆς προτιμήσαντα τοῖς εὖ πράττειν
 171 δυναμένοις ἀντιβαίνειν. τοὺς δὲ μέγα πνέοντας
 ἐπιτάσει¹ τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἀθεραπεύτως εἰς ἅπαν
 ἔχοντας ὁ νόμος παγκάλως οὐκ ἤγαγεν εἰς κρίσιν
 ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ θείῳ παρέδωκε δικα-
 στηρίῳ. φησὶ γάρ· ὃς ἂν ἐγχειρῇ τι πράττειν μεθ’
 172 ὑπερηφανίας, “ τὸν θεὸν παροξύνει.” διὰ τί; ὅτι
 πρῶτον μὲν ἀλαζονεῖα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κακία, ψυχὴ δὲ
 ἀόρατος ὅτι μὴ θεῷ, κολαστῆς δὲ ὁ μὲν τυφλὸς
 ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀγνοίαν κατήγορον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ
 βλέπων ἐπαινετός, ἐπιστήμη πάντα δρῶν· ἔπειτα
 δὲ ὅτι φρονήματος ὑπόπλεως ἀλόγου γενόμενος
 πᾶς ἀλαζὼν “ οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε ἡμίθεον ἀλλ’ ὅλον
 δαίμονα ” κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτόν,
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως βαίνειν
 173 ἀξιῶν. ἔστι δ’ αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα
 ἐπίληπτον κατὰ τε τὰς σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις
 ἀπάσας· ἀκροβατεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον

¹ The mss. here are exceedingly confused, and Cohn’s reconstruction here given is doubtful. He also inserts ὥς before ἀθεραπεύτως, necessarily perhaps if ἐπιτάσει is to be taken with πνέοντας. The translation takes it as causal with ἀθεραπεύτως ἔχοντας. μέγα or μέγала πνεῖν is often used absolutely, sometimes to express influence, sometimes pride. Cf. *Mos.* i. 30, *Flacc.* 124, 152.

^a Num. xv. 30. E.V. “ But the soul that doeth aught with

ON THE VIRTUES, 169-173

so that as in a public banquet they may invite as many as they possibly can to use and enjoy them. We say then to him who has much wealth or reputation or soundness of body or knowledge, that he should make those whom he meets rich, highly reputed, well-conditioned in body, and full of knowledge, and in general good, instead of preferring jealousy and envy to virtue and setting himself in opposition to those who might thrive in these ways. But with the men of windy pride, whose intensified arrogance sets them quite beyond cure, the law deals admirably in not bringing them to be judged by men but handing them over to the divine tribunal only, for it says, "Whosoever sets his hand to do anything with presumptuousness provokes God."^a Why is this? First, because arrogance is a vice of the soul and the soul is invisible save only to God. Chastisement is not for the blind to give but for him who can see; in the one it deserves censure, because his ignorance bears witness against him, in the other it is laudable, because he acts throughout with knowledge.^b Secondly, the arrogant man is always filled with the spirit of unreason, holding himself, as Pindar says, to be neither man nor demigod, but wholly divine, and claiming to overstep the limits of human nature. His body like his soul is at fault in every posture and movement. With haughty airs and perked up neck

a high hand (LXX ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας), the same blasphemeth (LXX παροξύνει) the Lord."

^b Cohn considers the whole description of the arrogant man to be an obvious allusion to the emperor Gaius. Cf. *Leg. ad Gaium* 75 "he claimed to remain no more within the limits of human nature, but soared above them desiring to be thought a god." It seems to me rather unnecessary even if it can be verified chronologically.

PHILO

ἐξαίρει φρυαπτόμενος καὶ πλέον τῆς φύσεως ἐπῆρται καὶ πεφύσῃται καὶ ὁρῶν παραβλέπει πλαγίαις ὄψεσι καὶ ἀκούων παρακούει, κέχρηται δὲ τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις ὡς θρέμμασι, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθέροις ὡς οἰκέταις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς κόλαξι, τοῖς δ' ἀστοῖς ὡς ξένοις·

174 πάντων τε οἴεται εἶναι πλουσιώτατος, ἐντιμώτατος, κάλλιστος, ἰσχυρότατος, φρονιμώτατος, σωφρονέστατος, δικαιοτάτος, λογιώτατος, ἐπιστημονικώτατος· εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπολαμβάνει πένητας,
[405] | ἀδόξους, ἀτίμους, ἄφρονας, ἀδίκους, ἀνεπιστήμονας, καθάρματα, τὸ μηδέν. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀντιδίκῳ καὶ κολαστῇ χρήσαιτ' ἂν, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης, θεῶ.

Περὶ μετανοίας

175 XXXIII. Φιλάρετος καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ διαφερόντως φιλάνθρωπος ὢν ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς προτρέπει τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἶναι ζηλωτάς, ἅθλα προτιθεὶς ὡς νικηφόροις μεγάλα τοῖς μετανοοῦσι πολιτείας κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπόλαυσιν μικρῶν
176 τε καὶ μεγάλων. ἀγαθὰ γὰρ προηγούμενα ἐν μὲν σώμασιν ἢ ἄνσος ὑγεία, ἐν δὲ ναυσὶν ἢ ἀκίνδυνος εὐπλοία, ἐν δὲ ψυχαῖς ἢ ἀληστος μνήμη τῶν ἀξίων μνημονεύεσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ τὰ κατ' ἐπανόρθωσιν συνιστάμενα, ἧ τε ἐκ νόσων ἀνάληψις καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πλοῦν κινδύνων εὐκταιοτάτη σωτηρία καὶ ἡ λήθης ἐκγυνομένη¹ ἀνάμνησις, ἧς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενέστατον τὸ μετανοεῖν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ τεταγμένον τάξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ

ON THE VIRTUES, 173-176

he struts about rising above his natural stature, puffs himself out, sees only by looking out of the side of his eyes, and hears only to misunderstand. Slaves he treats as cattle, the free as slaves, kinsfolk as strangers, friends as parasites, fellow-citizens as foreigners. He considers himself superior to all in riches, 174 estimation, beauty, strength, wisdom, temperance, justice, eloquence, knowledge; while everyone else he regards as poor, disesteemed, unhonoured, foolish, unjust, ignorant, outcast, in fact good-for-nothing. Naturally such a person will, as the Revealer tells us, have God for his accuser and avenger.

On Repentance

XXXIII. Our most holy Moses, who so dearly 175 loved virtue and goodness and especially his fellow-men, exhorts everyone everywhere to pursue piety and justice, and offers to the repentant in honour of their victory the high rewards of membership in the best of commonwealths and of the felicities both great and small which that membership confers. For in 176 the scale of values the primary place is taken in bodies by health free from disease, in ships by travelling happily free from danger and in souls by memory of things worth remembering without lapse into forgetfulness. But second to these stands rectification in its various forms, recovery from disease, deliverance so earnestly desired from the dangers of the voyage, and recollection supervening on forgetfulness. This last has for its brother and close kinsman repentance, which though it does not stand in the first and highest rank of values has its

¹ MSS. ἐγγενομένη or ἐγγυνομένη.

PHILO

- 177 μετὰ ταύτην φερόμενον δευτερεΐα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 μηδὲν συνόλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ τάχα δὲ καὶ
 θείου ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτόντα μεταβαλεῖν πρὸς
 ἀνυπαίτιον ζῶν φρονίμου καὶ τὸ συμφέρον εἰς ἅπαν
 178 οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντος. ὅθεν τοὺς τοιούτους συνάγων
 καὶ μυσταγωγῶν προσκαλεῖται τὰς συμβατηρίους
 καὶ φιλικὰς προτείνων ὑψηγήσεις, αἱ παραινοῦσιν
 ἀψεύδειαν ἀσκεῖν καὶ τύφον προβεβλήσθαι καὶ ἀλη-
 θεΐας καὶ ἀτυφίας ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ εὐδαι-
 μονίας αἰτίων περιέχεσθαι μυθικῶν πλασμάτων
 κατεξαναστάντας, ἅπερ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἀπαλαῖς
 ἔτι ψυχαῖς γονεῖς καὶ τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ
 μυριοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνήθων ἐνεχάραξαν πλάνον ἀν-
 ἥνυτον περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου γνώσεως ἀπεργασά-
 179 μενοι. τί δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἄριστον ἢ θεός; οὐ
 τὰς τιμὰς προσένειμαν τοῖς οὐ θεοῖς ἐκείνους μὲν
 ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλεόν τοῦ μετρίου, τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἅπαν
 οἱ κενοὶ φρενῶν ἐκλαθόμενοι. πάντας οὖν, ὅσοι
 τὸν κτίστην καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς σέβειν ἠξίωσαν ἀλλ' ὕστερον μοναρχίαν ἀντὶ
 πολυαρχίας ἀσπασάμενοι, φιλτάτους καὶ συγγενε-
 στάτους ὑποληπτέον, τὸ μέγιστον εἰς φιλίαν καὶ
 [406] οἰκειότητα | παρασχομένους θεοφιλὲς ἦθος, οἷς χρή
 καὶ συνήδεσθαι, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τυφλοὶ πρότερον
 ὄντες ἀνέβλεψαν ἐκ βαθυτάτου σκότους αὐγοειδέ-
 στατον φῶς ἰδόντες.
- 180 XXXIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτον
 τῶν εἰς μετάνοιαν εἴρηται. μετανοεῖτω δέ τις μὴ

^a Or "the character which God loves." But here perhaps, as elsewhere, *θεοφιλής*, though primarily distinguished as in 272

ON THE VIRTUES, 176-180

place in the class next to this and takes the second prize. For absolute sinlessness belongs to God alone, 177 or possibly to a divine man ; conversion from sin to a blameless life shows a man of wisdom who has not been utterly ignorant of what is for his good. And, 178 therefore, when Moses convokes such people and would initiate them into his mysteries, he invites them with conciliatory and amicable offers of instruction, exhorting them to practise sincerity and reject vanity, to embrace truth and simplicity as vital necessities and the sources of happiness, and to rise in rebellion against the mythical fables impressed on their yet tender souls from their earliest years by parents and nurses and tutors and the multitude of other familiars, who have caused them to go endlessly astray in their search for the knowledge of the best. And what is the best of all that is but God, whose 179 honours they have assigned to those who were no gods and glorified them beyond measure, while Him in their senseless folly they forgot ? So therefore all these who did not at the first acknowledge their duty to reverence the Founder and Father of all, yet afterwards embraced the creed of one instead of a multiplicity of sovereigns, must be held to be our dearest friends and closest kinsmen. They have shown the godliness of heart ^a which above all leads up to friendship and affinity, and we must rejoice with them, as if, though blind at the first they had recovered their sight and had come from the deepest darkness to behold the most radiant light.

XXXIV. We have described the first and most 180 essential form of repentance, but a man should show

§ 184 from φιλόθεος, carries with it some idea of reciprocation, "friendship with God."

- μόνον ἐφ' οἷς ἡπατήθη πολὺν χρόνον τὰ γενητὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ θαυμάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα περὶ βίον ἀναγκαῖα, μετιὼν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς φαυλοτάτης τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν, ὀχλοκρατίας, εἰς τὴν εὐνομωτάτην πολιτείαν, δημοκρατίαν, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὧν ἡ ἄγνοια αἰσχρὸν, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, ἐξ ἀκρατείας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιο-
- 181 σύνην, ἐξ ἀτολμίας εἰς θαρραλεότητα. πάγκαλον γὰρ καὶ συμφέρον αὐτομολεῖν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν κακίαν, ἐπίβουλον δέσποιναν, ἀπολιπόντας· ἅμα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἔπεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἡλίῳ σκιὰν σώματι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ τιμῇ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν
- 182 ἄλλων ἀρετῶν κοινωνίαν. γίνονται γὰρ, εὐθύς οἱ ἐπηλύται σώφρονες, ἐγκρατεῖς, αἰδῆμονες, ἡμεροί, χρηστοί, φιλάνθρωποι, σεμνοί, δίκαιοι, μεγαλόφρονες, ἀληθείας ἐρασταί, κρείττους χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντας ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀκολάστους, ἀναισχύντους, ἀδίκους, ἀσέμνους, ὀλιγόφρονες, φιλαπεχθήμονες, ψευδολογίας ἐταίρους καὶ ψευδορκίας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πεπρακότας ὄψου καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πεμμάτων καὶ εὐμορφίας εἰς τε τὰς γαστρὸς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ὧν τὰ τέλη βαρύταται ζημίαι
- 183 σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς εἰσι. παγκάλους μέντοι καὶ τὰς εἰς μετάνοιαν ὑφηγῆσεις ποιεῖται, αἷς διδασκόμεθα μεθαρμόζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐξ ἀναρμοστίας εἰς τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν· φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὑπέρογκόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ μα-

^a See App. p. 437 (i.e. note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 237).

^b χρηστός coming here might bear this sense, which it sometimes certainly has. Cohn gives "brav" = "honest" (?).

ON THE VIRTUES, 180-183

repentance not only for the delusions under which he long laboured in revering things created before the Creator and Maker, but also in the other fundamental concerns of life, by passing, as it were, from mob-rule, which is the vilest of misgovernments, into democracy,^a the government in which good order is best observed. This means passing from ignorance to knowledge of things which it is disgraceful not to know, from senselessness to good sense, from incontinence to continence, from injustice to justice, from timidity to boldness. For it is excellent and profitable to desert 181 without a backward glance to the ranks of virtue and abandon vice that malignant mistress; and where honour is rendered to the God who is, the whole company of the other virtues must follow in its train as surely as in the sunshine the shadow follows the body. The proselytes become at once temperate, 182 continent, modest, gentle, kind,^b humane, serious,^c just, high-minded, truth-lovers, superior to the desire for money and pleasure, just as conversely the rebels from the holy laws are seen to be incontinent, shameless, unjust, frivolous, petty-minded, quarrelsome, friends of falsehood and perjury, who have sold their freedom for dainties and strong liquor and cates and the enjoyment of another's beauty,^d thus ministering to the delights of the belly and the organs below it—delights which end in the gravest injuries both to body and soul. Admirable indeed 183 too are the admonitions to repentance, in which we are taught to refit our life from its present misfit into a better and changed condition. He tells us^e that the thing is not overgreat nor very distant, neither in the

^a Perhaps "reverent," in which case ἀσεμνος = "irreverent."

^d See on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 82.

^e Deut. xxx. 11-14.

κρὰν ἀφεστός, οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα ἀνωτάτῳ κὰν¹
 ἐσχατιαῖς <γῆς οὔτε πέραν>² τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης,
 ὥς ἀδυνατῆσαι λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτῳ,
 τρισὶ μέρεσι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνδιαιτώμενον, στό-
 ματι καὶ καρδία καὶ χερσί, διὰ συμβόλων λόγοις
 καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ πράξεσι· λόγου μὲν <γὰρ> στόμα
 σύμβολον, καρδία δὲ βουλευμάτων, πράξεων δὲ
 184 χεῖρες, ἐν οἷς τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἔστιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
 οἷος ὁ λόγος τοιάδε ἡ γνώμη καὶ οἷον τὸ βούλευμα
 τοιάδε ἡ πρᾶξις, ἐπαινετὸς καὶ τέλειος ὁ βίος, ὅταν
 δὲ στασιάζῃ ταῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἀτελής τε καὶ
 ψεκτός. εἰ μὴ τις τῆς ἁρμονίας ταύτης ἐπιλάβοιτο,
 εὐαρεστήσει θεῷ γενόμενος ὁμοῦ θεοφιλῆς καὶ
 [407] φιλόθεος. ὅθεν εὖ καὶ | συμφώνως τοῖς εἰρημένοις
 ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο· “τὸν θεὸν εἴλου σήμερον
 εἶναί σοι θεόν, καὶ κύριος εἴλατό σε σήμερον γενέ-
 185 σθαι λαὸν αὐτῷ.” παγκάλῃ γε τῆς αἰρέσεως ἡ
 ἀντίδοσις, σπεύδοντος ἀνθρώπου μὲν θεραπεύειν τὸ
 ὄν, θεοῦ δὲ ἀνυπερθέτως ἐξοικειοῦσθαι τὸν ἰκέτην
 καὶ προαπαντᾶν τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ γνησίως καὶ
 ἀνόθως ἰόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ'
 ἀληθῆς θεραπευτὴς τε καὶ ἰκέτης, κὰν εἰς ὧν ἀνὴρ
 ἀριθμῷ τυγχάνῃ, δυνάμει, καθάπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται,³

¹ MSS. καὶ.

² This insertion is borne out by the form in which the same text is quoted in *De Mut.* 237 and *De Praem.* 80. Deuteronomy itself has only “heaven and beyond the sea.”

³ Cohn declares αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται to be corrupt and in his translation follows the correction ἄλλοθι εἴρηται “as has been said elsewhere,” i.e. in *De Dec.* 37, where Philo explains the use of the second person singular in the commandment as intended to show that one good person is equal in worth to a

ON THE VIRTUES, 183-185

ether far above nor at the ends of the earth, nor beyond the great sea, that we should be unable to receive it, but very near, residing in three parts of our being, mouth, heart and hands, thus symbolizing words and thoughts and actions, for the mouth is a symbol of speech, the heart of thoughts and intentions, the hand of action, and in these three lies happiness. For when thoughts correspond to words 184 and actions correspond to intentions, life is praiseworthy and perfect,^a but when they are at strife with each other, it is imperfect and a matter for reproach. If a man does not forget to keep this harmony, he will be well-pleasing to God, thus becoming at once God-loving and God-beloved. And so in full accordance with these words there was given from above the good saying, "Thou hast chosen to-day God to be God to thee, and the Lord has chosen thee to-day to be a people to Him."^b Glorious is this reciprocation of 185 choice, when man hastens to serve the Existent, and God delays not to take the suppliant to Himself and anticipates the will of him who honestly and sincerely comes to do Him service. And that true servant and suppliant, even though in actual number he be but one, is in real value, what God's own choice makes him,^c

^a Philo forgets to say that the correspondence must be one for good. In *De Mut.* 237 f., where he gives the same exposition of the text, he brings this out clearly.

^b Deut. xxvi. 17, 18. E.V. for "chosen" has "avouched."

^c See note 3.

whole nation. But this lesson can equally be drawn from the text he is quoting here "He hath chosen *thee* to be a people," and I believe that *αἰπεῖται* at any rate is right. The phrase as it stands is an obscure, though perhaps not impossible, way of expressing what I have translated it by, but the change of *καθ' ὅσον* into *καθ' ὅπερ* would make it feasible. For other possible emendations see App. p. 448.

σύμπας ἐστὶν ὁ λεώς, ἰσότημος ὅλῳ ἔθνει γεγονώς.
 186 καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὥς γὰρ ἐν νηὶ μὲν κυ-
 βερνήτης πᾶσι τοῖς ναύταις ἀντίρροπος, ἐν δὲ
 στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸς ἅπασι τοῖς στρατιώταις—
 διαφθαρέντος γοῦν ἡττᾶσθαι συμβαίνει, καθάπερ ἂν
 εἰ καὶ πᾶσα δύναμις ἡβηδὸν ἐάλω—, τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-
 πον καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ὅλου ἔθνους ἀξιώματι ἀμιλλᾶται
 τείχει πεφραγμένος ἀκαθαιρέτῳ, θεοσεβείᾳ.

Περὶ εὐγενείας

- 187 | XXXV. Διὸ καὶ¹ τοῖς ὑμνοῦσι τὴν εὐγένειαν ὥς
 [437] μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον οὐ
 μετρίως ἐπιτιμητέον, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν οἶονται τοὺς
 ἐκ παλαιοπλούτων καὶ παλαιενδόξων εὐγενεῖς, μηδὲ
 τῶν προγόνων, ἀφ' ὧν αὐχοῦσι γενέσθαι, διὰ τὰς
 ἀφθόλους περιουσίας εὐδαιμονησάντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 τῶν περὶ σῶμα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ παντὶ μέρει ψυχῆς,
 ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ πέφυκεν ἐνδαιτιᾶσθαι.
 188 βουλευθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δι' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλ-
 ἀνθρωπίαν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦθ' ἰδρύσασθαι, νεῶν
 ἀξιοπρεπέστερον οὐχ εὗρεν ἐπὶ γῆς λογισμοῦ·
 κρείττων γὰρ <ὦν> μόνος ἀγαλματοφορεῖ τὰγαθόν,
 καὶ ἀπιστῶσί τινες τῶν ἢ μὴ γευσασμένων σοφίας
 ἢ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ. ἄργυρος γὰρ καὶ χρυσὸς τιμαί
 [438] τε καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ σώματος | εὐεξία μετ' εὐμορφίας

¹ So one ms. S has καὶ τοῖς, the others τοῖς δὲ. The point has some bearing on the connexion of these two treatises. See Gen. Introd. p. xvii.

^a εἰ is here used causally, as often with words expressing indignation, etc. Philo does not state what is to come in the
 278

ON THE VIRTUES, 185-188

the whole people, in worth equal to a complete nation. And, indeed, this is true to nature. In a ship the 186 pilot is worth as much as all the crew, and in an army the general as much as all the soldiers, since if he fall, defeat results as certainly as it would if the whole force were annihilated. So, too, against the worth of a whole nation the wise man can hold his own, protected by the impregnable wall of godliness.

On Nobleness of Birth

XXXV. This shows also that those who hymn 187 nobility of birth as the greatest of good gifts and the source too of other great gifts deserve no moderate censure, because in the first place^a they think that those who have many generations of wealth and distinction behind them are noble, though neither did the ancestors from whom they boast descent find happiness in the superabundance of their possessions. For the true good cannot find its home in anything external, nor yet in things of the body, and further not even in every part of the soul, but only in its sovereign part. When in His mercy and loving 188 kindness God willed to establish the good among us also, He found no worthier temple on earth than the reasoning faculty, for in this alone as the more excellent part the good is enshrined, even though some may disbelieve, who have never tasted or only just sipped wisdom. For silver and gold and honour and offices and good condition and beauty of body are like men set in com-

second place. The thought is perhaps that this in itself is sufficient, in which case translate "if only because."

- εοίκασιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγ-
 μένοις πρὸς τὴν οἶα βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὑπηρεσίαν
 189 αὐγοειδέστατον φῶς μὴ ἰδόντες.¹ ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ
 εὐγένεια κεκαθαρμένης διανοίας καθαρσίῳ τελείῳ
 κλῆρος οἰκεῖος, χρὴ μόνους λέγειν εὐγενεῖς τοὺς
 σώφρονας καὶ δικαίους, κἂν τύχωσιν ἐξ οἰκοτρίβων
 ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων γεγονότες· τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
 πονηροῖς γεγονόσιν ἄβατον ἔστω τὸ εὐγενείας
 190 χωρίον. αἰσχος γὰρ καὶ ἄπολις ὁ φαῦλος, ἐκ
 πατρίδος ἀρετῆς ἐληλαμένος, ἡ καὶ τῷ ὄντι σοφῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ πατρίς· τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἔπεται δυσγένεια, κἂν εἰ πάππων ἢ προγόνων
 γένοιτο τοὺς βίους ἀνεπιλήπτων, ἀλλοτριώσιν ἐπι-
 τηδεύοντι καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς εὐγενείας δια-
 191 ζευγνύντι ἑαυτὸν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. ἀλλὰ
 γὰρ πρὸς τῷ μὴ πεφυκέναι τοὺς πονηροὺς εὐγενεῖς
 ἔτι καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ πολεμίους ἀσυμβάτους
 εὐγενεῖα καθαιροῦντας τὸ προγονικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ

¹ Cohn regards this sentence as corrupt and inserts *ἐξαρκεῖν* after *εὐμορφίας*. He treats *ἀργυρος . . . ὑπηρεσίαν* as a parenthesis, and marks a lacuna before *αὐγοειδέστατον . . . ἰδόντες*. He translates "Silver and gold, etc. seem to rulers appointed to the service of queenly virtue to be sufficient . . . they do not see the radiant light." In the text the parenthetical arrangement suggests that he takes *ἰδόντες* as agreeing with *τινες*, but there is no sign of this in the translation. In a note to his version he justly remarks that it makes no sense, and the interpolation of *ἐξαρκεῖν*, or, as suggested in the translation, *ζηλωτὰ* (? *ζηλωτὰ εἶναι*), seems pointless. See note *a*.

^a The first part of this sentence down to "virtue" as here translated seems grammatically unimpeachable, and, I believe, gives a perfectly Philonic thought. Though the actual figure by which bodily and external goods are compared to officers 280

ON THE VIRTUES, 188-191

mand for ordinary purposes compared with service to queenly virtue^a and have never seen the light in its full radiance. Since then nobility is the peculiar 189 portion of a mind purged clean of every spot, we must give the name of noble only to the temperate and just,^b even though their parents were slaves, home-bred or purchased; but to the evil children of good parents that portion^c must be closed ground. For 190 the fool has no home and no city; he is expatriated from virtue, and virtue is in very truth the native land of the wise. With the fool inevitably comes ignobleness, even though his grandfather or ancestors be men of blameless life, for he habitually treats nobility as a stranger and sets a wide gulf between himself and her both in words and deeds. But not 191 only do the wicked fail to be noble, but they are actually, I see well, all mortal enemies of nobility, since they destroy ancestral prestige and dim and

serving practical needs as opposed to service in the court of virtue herself does not occur elsewhere, similar ideas are often to be found in Philo. Compare particularly the disquisition in *De Fuga* 25-37, where the proper use of these things as a preliminary to the higher life of contemplation is enjoined. Remarks to the same effect appear in *De Sob.* 61, *De Conf.* 18, *Quis Rerum* 285. There is more to be said for supposing a lacuna before ἀγχοειδέστατον. The four words may be spurious, as they are omitted in S. Assuming that they are genuine, the abrupt change of metaphor and perhaps their application to the "goods" themselves, instead of their possessors, is strange. It would not be surprising if some words had fallen out explaining that while these were not "blind wealth," they were not "seeing wealth" in the fullest sense. See further for Mangey's version App. p. 449.

^b For Stoic and other illustrations of this thought see App. p. 449.

^c Or simply "place." But the common sense of "estate" corresponds well to κλήρος.

- ὅσον ἐν τῷ γένει λαμπρὸν ἑξαμαυροῦντάς τε καὶ
 192 σβεννύντας. XXXVI. διό μοι δοκοῦσι φιλο-
 στοργότατοι πατέρες ἀπορρήσεις χρηματίζειν καθ'
 υἱῶν ἀποσχοινίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ συγ-
 γενείας, ὅταν τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἐν τοῖς γεννήσασι
 περιττὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐνοίαν ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις
 193 μοχθηρία κατακρατήσῃ. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ λόγου
 ῥάδιον καὶ ἀφ' ἐτέρων διαγνῶναι. τί τῷ τὰς ὄψεις
 πεπηρωμένῳ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς τὸ βλέπειν ὄφελος
 ὀξυωπία προγονική; ἢ πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν τῷ παρ-
 ειμένῳ γλῶτταν τὸ γονεῖς ἢ πάππους γενέσθαι
 μεγαλοφώνους; τί δ' ὀνίνησι πρὸς εὐτονίαν τὸν ἐκ
 μακρᾶς καὶ φθινάδος νόσου κατεσκελετευμένον,
 εἰάν οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δι' ἀθλητικὴν ῥώμην
 ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἢ περιοδονίκαις γράφωνται;
 μένουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡττὸν αἱ τοῦ σώματος κῆρες ἐν
 ὁμοίῳ βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμεναι διὰ τὰς τῶν
 194 οἰκείων εὐπραγίας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον οὔτε
 τοῖς ἀδίκους δίκαιοι γονεῖς οὔτε ἀκολάστοις σώ-
 φρονες οὔτε συνόλως ἀγαθοὶ πονηροῖς ὄφελος· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ὧν εἰσιν αὐτοὶ
 κολασταί· νόμοι δέ τινες ἄγραφοι καὶ οἱ βίοι τῶν
 195 ζηλωσάντων τὴν ἀρετὴν. ὅθεν οἶμαι τὴν
 εὐγένειαν, εἰ θεὸς αὐτὴν εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδέαν
 ἐτύπωσε, στᾶσαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφηνιαστὰς ἀπογόνους
 ταῦτα ἂν εἰπεῖν· “τὸ συγγενὲς οὐχ αἵματι μετρεῖται
 μόνον, πρυτανευούσης ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πράξεων

^a For χρηματίζειν cf. *De Cher.* 115 χρηματίζειν ἀπόλειψιν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, and note, vol. ii. p. 486. This use is noted in L. & S. revised, referring to this passage under the head

ON THE VIRTUES, 191-195

finally quench all the glory which illumines the family. XXXVI. That is the reason, I think, why 192 fathers of the most affectionate kind formally disinherit^a their sons and debar them from their home and kinship, when the depravity which they show overcomes the peculiar and intense affection implanted in parents by nature. The truth of what I 193 say can easily be recognized from other examples. If a man has lost the use of his eyes, will the keen-sightedness of his ancestors help him to see? If his tongue is paralysed, will he express himself better because his parents or grandparents possessed strong voices? If he is worn to a thread by a long and wasting sickness, will it profit for restoring him to vigour that the athletic prowess of the founders of the family has placed them in the list of victors at the Olympic or all the other great games? Their bodily debilities remain just as they were and cannot be improved by the better luck of their relations. In the same way, 194 just parents are no help to the unjust, nor temperate parents to the intemperate, nor, in general, good parents to the wicked, any more than the laws to law-breakers, whom they exist to punish, and the lives of those who have earnestly followed virtue may be called unwritten laws.^b And, there- 195 fore, I think, that if God had so formed nobility as to take a human shape, she would stand to face the rebellious descendants and address them thus. "In the court where truth presides, kinship is not measured only by blood, but by similarity of conduct and pur-

of "issuing ordinances, etc." But the use in Philo points rather to taking proceedings.

^b For this idea, which inspires all the biographies translated in vol. vi., see particularly *De Abr.* 4 ff. and 276.

- ομοιότητι καὶ θήρα τῶν αὐτῶν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τάναντία ἐπετηδεύσατε, τὰ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλα νομίσαντες ἐχθρά, [439] τὰ δὲ | δυσμενῇ φίλα· παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ αἰδώς καὶ ἀλήθεια μετριοπάθειά τε καὶ ἀτυφία καὶ ἀκακία τίμια, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἄτιμα· κάμοι μὲν ἐχθρὰ τὸ ἀναίσχυντον, τὸ ψεῦδος, ἡ ἀμετρία τῶν παθῶν, 196 ὁ τῦφος, αἱ κακίαι, ὑμῖν δὲ οἰκειότατα. τί δὴ μελετήσαντες ἀλλοτρίωσιν τὴν δι' ἔργων τὴν ἐν λόγῳ συγγένειαν εὐπρεπὲς ὄνομα ὑποδυσόμενοι καθυποκρίνεσθε; παραγωγὰς γὰρ καὶ κεκομφεμένας ἀπάτας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι, διότι ῥάδιον μὲν καὶ τῷ τυχόντι εὐπροσώπους λόγους εὔρειν, ἦθη δ' 197 ὑπαλλάξασθαι πονηρὰ χρηστοῖς οὐ ῥάδιον. εἰς ἅπερ ἀφορῶσα καὶ νῦν ἐχθροὺς νομίζω καὶ αὐθις ἡγήσομαι τοὺς τὰ τῆς ἐχθρας ὑπεκκαύματα ζω-πυρήσαντας καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς δυσγένειαν ὀνειδίζομένων ὑποβλέψομαι· τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογία τὸ μὴδὲν οἰκεῖον ἔχειν (παράδειγμα)¹ καλοκαγαθίας, ὑπόδικοι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐκ μεγάλων φύντες οἴκων, οἷς αὖχημα καὶ κλέος τὰ λαμπρὰ γένη· παριδρυμένων γὰρ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ συμπεφυκότων ἀρχετύπων ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἀπομάξασθαι καλὸν διενότηθητε."
- 198 "Ὅτι δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς κτήσει τίθεται τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην εὐγενῇ μόνον ὑπείληφεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅστις ἂν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γέννηται γονέων, 199 δῆλον ἐκ πολλῶν. XXXVII. αὐτίκα τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηγενοῦς φύντας τίς οὐκ ἂν εὐπατρίδας εἴποι καὶ

¹ Added by Cohn on the analogy of *Spec. Leg.* iv. 182. A partitive genitive after *μηδὲν* is doubtful Greek.

^a Lit. "Having practised the estrangement that comes by actions, why by assuming a specious name do you counterfeit the kinship of words?"

ON THE VIRTUES, 195-199

suit of the same objects. But your practice has been the opposite. What I hold dear you regard as hostile and my enemies you love. In my sight, modesty and truth and control of the passions and simplicity and innocence are honourable, in your eyes dishonourable. Shamelessness, falsehood, passion uncontrolled, vanity, vices are my enemies, but to you they are the closest of friends. You have done your best 196 by your actions to make yourselves strangers, why do you hypocritically assume a specious name and call yourselves kinsmen?^a Seductive arts and clever wiles I cannot away with. It is easy for anybody to devise prettily-sounding words, but it is not easy to change bad morals to good. With these things before my 197 eyes, I count now as enemies and hereafter shall hold as such, those who have kindled the fuel of enmity into a flame,^b and I shall frown on them, more than on those whose reproach is their ignoble birth. They may plead in defence that they have no pattern of high excellence for their own, but you stand accused, you who spring from great houses, which boast and glory in the splendour of their race. For though you have good models at your side, almost, indeed, your birth fellows, you have never been minded to reproduce any of their excellence."

That he held nobility to depend on the acquisition 198 of virtue and considered that the possessor of virtue and not anyone born of highly excellent parents is noble can be shown from many examples. XXXVII. 199 For instance, who would deny that the sons of the Earth-born were of high birth and progenitors of

^b These stilted phrases, in keeping with the rest of the speech, apparently mean nothing more than "I shall never forgive you."

- εὐπατριδῶν ἀρχηγέτας; οἱ γένος ἐξαίρετον ἔλαχον
 παρὰ τοὺς ἔπειτα, βλαστήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πρώτων
 νυμφίων ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικὸς τότε πρῶτον εἰς
 ὁμίλιαν κοινὴν ἐπὶ σπορᾷ τοῦ ὁμοίου συνελθόντων.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως δυοῖν γενομένων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὑπέμεινε
 τὸν νεώτερον δολοφονῆσαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἄγος,
 ἀδελφοκτονίαν, ἐργασάμενος πρῶτος αἵματι ἀνθρω-
 200 πίνῳ τὴν γῆν ἐμίανε. τί δὴ τοῦτον ὦνησεν ἡ
 εὐγένεια τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν ἐπιδειξάμενον;
 ἦν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἔφορος θεὸς
 ἰδὼν. ἐστύγησε καὶ προβαλλόμενος ὥρισε τιμωρίας,
 οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀνελών, ὅπως ἀναισθήτως ἔχῃ συμφορῶν,
 ἀλλὰ μυρίους ἐπικρεμάσας τοὺς ἐν αἰσθήσει θανά-
 τους λύπαις καὶ φόβοις ἐπαλλήλοις εἰς κακῶν
 ὀδυνηροτάτων ἀντίληψιν.
- 201 Ἐγένετο δέ τις τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα σφόδρα δοκίμων
 ἀνὴρ ὀσιώτατος, οὗ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνάγραφτον
 ἠξίωσεν (εἶναι) ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ὁ τοὺς νόμους
 διαταξάμενος· ὃς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τῶν
 πόλεων ἀφανιζομένων πανωλεθρίᾳ—καὶ γὰρ τῶν
 [440] ὀρῶν τὰ ὑψηλότερα | τῇ συναυξήσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει
 τῆς περὶ τὴν φορὰν πλημμύρας κατεπίνετο—,
 μόνος μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται τῆς καλο-
 κάγαθίας ἄθλον ἀράμενος, οὗ μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν
 202 εὐρεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ τριῶν γενομένων παίδων
 καὶ συναπολελευκότων τῆς πατρῴας δωρεᾶς εἰς
 ἐτόλμησε τὸν αἴτιον τῆς σωτηρίας πατέρα κατα-
 κερτομεῖν γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην, εἴ τι παρεσφάλῃ μὴ
 καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, τιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς μὴ
 εἰδόσιν ἀπογυμνῶν ἃ κρύπτειν θέμις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ

^a Cf. *De Praem.* 72 f. and note.

high-born children ? Their lot was to be born under circumstances which distinguished them above their posterity, sprung as they were from the first bridal pair, the man and woman who then first came together in mutual intercourse to procreate their like. Nevertheless, of the sons thus born the elder did not shrink from treacherously murdering the younger, and by committing the most accursed of crimes, fratricide, was the first to pollute the earth with human blood. What profit was noble birth to him, 200 who displayed in his soul an ignobleness, which God, the Overseer of human affairs, saw and abhorred and cast him forth to pay the penalty. And that penalty was this. He did not slay him at once and so make him insensible to his sufferings, but held suspended over him a multitude of deaths—deaths which made themselves felt in a constant succession of griefs and fears, carrying with them full apprehension of the miseries of his most evil plight.^a

Among the worthiest men of later time was one of 201 special holiness, whose piety the framer of the code held worthy to be recorded in the sacred books. In the great deluge when cities were submerged and annihilated, since even the highest mountains were swallowed up by the increasing magnitude and force of the mass of water which the flood produced, he alone was saved with his family, so receiving for his high excellence a reward of unsurpassed value. Yet 202 of the three sons born to him, who shared in the boon bestowed on their father, one ventured to pour reproach upon the author of his preservation. He held up to scorn and laughter some lapse into which his father had fallen involuntarily, and laid bare what should have been hidden to those who knew it

γεννήσαντος αἰσχύνῃ. τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ὦνατο τῆς λαμπρᾶς εὐγενείας ἐπάρατος γενόμενος καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴ κακοδαιμονίας· ὦν ἄξιον ἦν τυγχάνειν τὸν ἡμεληκότα γονέων τιμῆς.

- 203 Ἄλλὰ τί τούτων μεμνήσθαι προσήκεν ἀφέμενον τοῦ πρώτου καὶ γηγενοῦς; ὃς ἔνεκα εὐγενείας οὐδενὶ θνητῷ σύγκριτος, χερσὶ μὲν θείαις <εἰς> ἀνδριάντα τὸν σωματοειδῇ τυπωθεὶς ἀκρότητι τεχνῆς πλαστικῆς, ψυχῆς δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἡκόντων, ἐμπνεύσαντος θεοῦ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐδύνατο δέξασθαι θνητὴ φύσις, ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ τις εὐγενείας μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι διωνομάσθησαν¹ εἰς σύγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένη;
- 204 τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ κλέος ἐκ προγόνων εὐτυχίας—ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ πρόγονοι, ζῶα ἐπίκηρα καὶ φθαρτά, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀβέβαιοι καὶ ἐφήμεροι τὰ πολλὰ εὐπραγίαι—, τοῦ δὲ πατὴρ [μὲν] θνητὸς οὐδεὶς, ὁ δὲ
- 205 αἰδίδιος θεός· οὗ τρόπον τινὰ γενόμενος εἰκὼν κατὰ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, δέον ἀκηλίδωτον τὴν εἰκόνα φυλάξαι καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπακολουθήσαντα ταῖς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀρεταῖς, προτεθέντων εἰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ καλοῦ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ ψευδοῦς, τὰ μὲν ψευδῇ καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ κακὰ προθύμως εἵλετο, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀληθῶν ἡλόγησεν· ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως θνητὸν ἀθανάτου βίον ἀνθυπηλλάξαστο μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας σφαλεῖς καὶ ῥᾶστα μετέβαλεν εἰς ἐπίπονον καὶ κακοδαίμονα ζωὴν.

- 206 XXXVIII. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἔστωσαν κοινοὶ

¹ MSS. ὅσα διωνομάσθη (S) or αἰδίδιων ὀνομασθεῖσαν.

ON THE VIRTUES, 202-206

not, casting shame on him who begat him. He then had no profit from the glories of his birth, laid under a curse and a source of misery to his successors, a worthy fate for one who had no thought for the honour due to parents.^a

Yet why should we mention these and leave out of sight the first and earth-born man, who for nobility of birth stands beyond comparison with all other mortals, moulded with consummate skill into the figure of the human body by the hand of God, the Master Sculptor, and judged worthy to receive his soul not from any other thing already created, but through the breath of God imparting of His own power such measure as mortal nature could receive? Have we not here a transcendence of noble birth, which cannot be brought into comparison with any of the other examples known to fame? For their renown rests on the good fortune of their ancestors, who were men, creatures which lived only to decay and perish, and their happier experiences are mostly uncertain and short-lived. But his father was no mortal but the eternal God, whose image he was in a sense in virtue of the ruling mind within the soul. Yet though he should have kept that image undefiled and followed as far as he could in the steps of his Parent's virtues, when the opposites were set before him to choose or avoid, good and evil, honourable and base, true and false, he was quick to choose the false, the base and the evil and spurn the good and honourable and true, with the natural consequence that he exchanged mortality for immortality, forfeited his blessedness and happiness and found an easy passage to a life of toil and misery.

XXXVIII. These examples may serve as land-

^a Gen. ix. 20-25.

- πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅροι τοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις γένεσι
 σεμνύνεσθαι τοὺς καλοκάγαθίας ἀμοιροῦντας· Ἰου-
 δαίοις δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δίχα τῶν κοινῶν ἐξαίρετοι.
 τῶν γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγῶν¹ εἰσιν οὓς αἱ τῶν
 προγόνων ἀρεταὶ συνόλως οὐδὲν ὥνησαν <ἐπ'> ἐπι-
 [441] λήπτοις καὶ | ὑπαιτίοις πράξεσιν ἀλόντας, εἰ καὶ
 πρὸς ἑτέρου μηδενὸς ἐλεγχθέντας, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 συνειδότος, ὃ μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων δικαστήριον τέχ-
 207 ναις λόγων οὐ παράγεται. πολὺπαις ἦν ὁ πρῶτος
 ἐκ τριῶν παιδοποιησάμενος γυναικῶν, οὐ δι' ἡδονῆς
 ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλπίδα τοῦ πληθύναι τὸ γένος·
 ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν εἰς μόνος ἀπεδείχθη κληρονόμος
 τῶν πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμης
 ὑγιоῦς σφαλέντες καὶ μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ γεννήσαντος
 ἀπομαζάμενοι διωκίσθησαν ἀλλοτριωθέντες τῆς
 αἰοιδίμου εὐγενείας.
- 208 Πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ δοκιμασθέντος κληρονόμου δύο δί-
 δυμοι γεννῶνται μηδὲν [ὅτι μὴ χεῖρας καὶ ταύτας
 ἔνεκά τινος οἰκονομίας] ὅμοιον ἐπιφερόμενοι, μήτε
 τοῖς σώμασι μήτε ταῖς γνώμασι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεώ-
 τερος καταπειθῆς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἦν καὶ
 οὕτως εὐάρεστος, ὥς καὶ θεοῦ τυχεῖν ἐπαινέτου, ὁ
 δὲ μείζων ἀπειθής, [ἐκ] τῶν γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν μετὰ

¹ Cohn in translation suggests that παίδων or ἀπογόνων has fallen out after ἀρχηγῶν, since Ishmael, Esau, etc. could not be called the founders of the race. Loosely, I think, he might call them this, as belonging to the family. If not, perhaps τῶν τοῦ γένους <τῶν> ἀρχηγῶν (γένος as often = "family"). For ἀρχηγέτης used absolutely cf. *De Praem.* 60.

marks common to all mankind to remind them that those who have no true excellence of character should not pride themselves on the greatness of their race. But besides these common examples, the Jews have others peculiar to themselves. For among the founders of the race, there are some who profited nothing by the virtues of their ancestors, proved to be guilty of highly reprehensible conduct, convicted, if not by any other judge, at any rate by their conscience, the one and only court which is never misled by oratorical artifices. The first was the father of 207 many children, begotten on three wives, not for indulgence in pleasure but in the hope of multiplying the race. But of his many sons, only one was appointed to inherit the patrimony. All the rest failed to show sound judgement and as they reproduced nothing of their father's qualities, were excluded from the home and denied any part in the grandeur of their noble birth.^a

Again, the one who was approved as heir begat 208 two twins, who had no resemblance to each other, either in body or disposition [except in the hands, and in these only for a particular act of policy].^b For the younger was obedient to both his parents and won such favour that God, too, joined in praising him, but the elder was disobedient, indulging without restraint in the pleasures of the belly and the lower

gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son." Cf. *De Mig.* 94 and note, vol. iv. p. 563.

^b I agree with Cohn that this addition is incredibly silly, and probably an interpolation, though it is true that Philo is not at his best throughout this treatise. (The words refer of course to Jacob's disguising his hands with goat-skins, Gen. xxvii. 16 and 23.) But on this and on the meaning of *oikonomia* see App. p. 449.

- γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἀκρατῶς ἔχων, ὅφ' ὧν ἀνεπείσθη καὶ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μετανοεῖν εὐθὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἐξέστη καὶ φονᾶν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ δι' ὧν λυπήσει τοὺς
- 209 γονεῖς πραγματεῦσθαι. τοιγαροῦν τῷ μὲν εὐχὰς τίθενται τὰς ἀνωτάτω, βεβαιούντος ἀπάσας θεοῦ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀξιώσαντος ἀτελῇ καταλιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ κατ' ἔλεον χαρίζονται τὴν ὑπήκοον τάξιν, ἵνα δουλεύῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, νομίζοντες, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀγαθὸν
- 210 εἶναι τῷ φαύλῳ τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον. καὶ εἰ γε ὑπέμεινε τὴν δουλείαν ἄσμενος, δευτερείων ἂν ἡξιούτο ὡς ἐν ἄθλοις ἀρετῆς· νυνὶ δὲ ἀπαυθαδισάμενος¹ καὶ δραπετεύσας τῆς καλῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους μεγάλων αἵτιος ὄνειδῶν ἐγένετο, ὡς τὸν ἀβίωτον αὐτοῦ βίον ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι πρὸς σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον τοῦ μηδὲν τὴν εὐγένειαν ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀναξίους εὐγενείας.
- 211 XXXIX. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσι τῆς ἐπιλήπτου τάξεως, οὓς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πονηροὺς γενομένους ὦνησαν μὲν οὐδὲν αἱ πατέρων ἀρεταί, αἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κακίαι μυρία ἔβλαψαν. ἔχω δ' εἰπεῖν ἑτέρους τὴν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀμείνῳ τεταγμένους τάξιν, οἷς πρόγονοι μὲν ὑπαίτιοι, ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνάπλεως εὐφημίας
- 212 ὁ βίος. τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ὁ πρεσβύτατος γένος² μὲν ἦν Χαλδαῖος, πατὴρ δὲ ἀστρονομικοῦ τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα διατριβόντων, οἱ τοὺς ἀστέ-

¹ MSS. αὐθαδησάμενος (S) or ἀπαυθαδίσας.

² MSS. γένει or γένους.

^a Gen. xxvii. 27-29 and 39, 40. Of course to ascribe these prayers to Rebecca as well as Isaac is a complete perversion of the story.

lying parts. Influenced by these he surrendered his birth-right to his junior, then, at once, repenting of the surrender, sought his brother's life, and all his concern was to act in such a way as would cause grief to his parents. Therefore, for the younger they 209 prayed that he should be blessed above all others, all which prayers God confirmed and would not that any of them should be left unfulfilled. But to the elder in compassion they granted an inferior station to serve his brother, rightly thinking that it is not good for the fool to be his own master.^a And if, indeed, he had 210 endured his servitude contentedly, he would have been awarded the second prize for prowess in the arena of virtue. As it was, by his wilfulness, a runagate from the excellent rule set over him, he brought heavy reproaches upon himself and his descendants, so that his life so little worth living stands recorded as the clearest proof that to those who are unworthy of nobility, nobility is of no value.

XXXIX. Now these belong to the erring class, evil 211 children of good parents, who gained no profit from the virtues of their fathers, but suffered countless injuries from the vices of their minds. But I can cite others of the opposite and better class, whose ancestors were men of guilt, but their own lives were worthy of emulation and full of good report. The most 212 ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean by birth, the son of an astrologer, one of those who study the lore of that science,^b and think that the

^b μαθήματα, though often "mathematics" in Philo, is here definitely restricted to astrology; cf. *De Mut.* 71 "The student of the nature of heaven, whom some call the μαθηματικός," a passage which also illustrates Philo's regular assumption that Abraham before his call believed in Chaldaean astrology; cf. *De Abr.* 69 ff.

- [442] ρας θεοὺς νομίζουσι καὶ τὸν | σύμπαντα οὐρανόν
 τε καὶ κόσμον, παρ' οὓς τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον
 ἐκάστοις φασὶν ἀποβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθη-
 213 τῶν αἴτιον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι. τούτου δὲ τί ἂν
 εἴη χαλεπώτερον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπελέγξαι τὴν ἐν τῇ
 ψυχῇ δυσγένειαν δυνάμενον δι' ἐπιστήμης τῶν
 πολλῶν καὶ δευτέρων καὶ γενητῶν εἰς ἀνεπιστη-
 μοσύνην ἰούσῃ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ
 ἀγενήτου καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα
 ἀρίστου καὶ διὰ μυρία ἄλλα, ἃ διὰ μέγεθος ἀνθρώ-
 214 πινος λογισμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ; ὧν ἔννοιαν λαβὼν καὶ
 ἐπιθειάσας καταλείπει μὲν πατρίδα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ
 πατρῶον οἶκον, εἰδὼς ὅτι μένοντος μὲν αἱ τῆς
 πολυθέου δόξης ἐγκαταμενουσιν ἀπάται ἀνήνυτον
 κατασκευάζουσαι τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς εὕρεσιν, ὅς ἐστιν
 αἰδῖος μόνος καὶ ὅλων πατὴρ νοητῶν τε αὖ καὶ
 αἰσθητῶν, εἰ δὲ μετανασταίῃ, μεταναστήσεται καὶ
 τῆς διανοίας ἢ ἀπάτῃ μεθαρμουςαμένης τὴν ψευδῇ
 215 δόξαν εἰς ἀλήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν πόθον ὃν
 ἐπόθει γινῶναι τὸ ὃν προσανερίπισε λόγια χρη-
 σθέντα, οἷς ποδηγετούμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς
 ἀοκνοτάτῃ σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἦει· καὶ οὐ πρότερον
 ἀνῆκεν ἢ τρανοτέρας λαβεῖν φαντασίας, οὐχὶ τῆς
 οὐσίας—τούτο γὰρ ἀμήχανον—, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπάρξεως
 216 αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας. διὸ καὶ πιστεῦσαι λέγεται τῷ
 θεῷ πρῶτος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἀκλινῇ καὶ βεβαίαν
 ἔσχεν ὑπόληψιν, ὥς ἔστιν ἐν αἴτιον τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
 προνοεῖ τοῦ τε κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. κτησά-
 μενος δὲ πίστιν,¹ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν βεβαιωτάτην,

¹ MSS. ἐπιστήμην.

ON THE VIRTUES, 212-216

stars and the whole heaven and universe are gods, the authors, they say, of the events which befall each man for good or for ill, and hold that there is no originating cause outside the things we perceive by our senses. What could be more grievous or more 213 capable of proving the total absence of nobility in the soul than this, that its knowledge of the many, the secondary, the created, only leads it to ignore the One, the Primal, the Uncreated and Maker of all, whose supreme excellence is established by these and countless other attributes of such magnitude that no human reason can contain them? Percep- 214 tion of these truths and divine inspiration induced him to leave his native country, his race and paternal home, knowing that if he stayed the delusions of the polytheistic creed would stay within him and render it impossible for him to discover the One, who alone is eternal and the Father of all things, conceptual and sensible, whereas if he removed, the delusion would also remove from his mind and its false creed be replaced by the truth. At the same time, also, 215 the fire of yearning, which possessed him to know the Existent, was fanned by the divine warnings vouchsafed to him. With these to guide his steps, he went forth never faltering in his ardour to seek for the One, nor did he pause until he received clearer visions, not of His essence, for that is impossible, but of His existence and providence. And, therefore, he is the first 216 person spoken of as believing in God,^a since he first grasped a firm and unswerving conception of the truth that there is one Cause above all, and that it provides for the world and all that there is therein. And having gained faith, the most sure and certain

^a Gen. xv. 6.

συνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας, ὡς παρὰ τοῖς
 ὑποδεξαμένοις νομίζεσθαι βασιλεῖς, οὐχὶ ταῖς παρα-
 σκευαῖς—ιδιότης γὰρ ἦν—, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
 217 μεγέθει, φρονήματος ὧν βασιλικοῦ.¹ καὶ δῆτα
 θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν διετέλουν ὡς ἄρχοντα ὑπήκοοι
 τὸ περὶ πάντα μεγαλείον τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ κατα-
 πληττόμενοι τελειότερας οὔσης ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμιλίαις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπι-
 θειάζων τὰ πολλὰ σεμνοτέραις· ὁπότε γοῦν κατα-
 σχεθεῖη, μετέβαλλε πάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, τὰς
 ὄψεις, τὴν χροάν, τὸ μέγεθος, τὰς σχέσεις, τὰς
 κινήσεις, τὴν φωνήν, τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, ὅπερ
 ἄνωθεν καταπνευσθὲν εἰσωκίσατο τῇ ψυχῇ, περι-
 [443] τιθέντος τῷ μὲν | σώματι κάλλος ἐξαίρετον, τοῖς
 218 δὲ λόγοις πειθῶ, τοῖς δ' ἀκούουσι σύνεσιν. ἄρ'
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποις τὸν μετανάστην τουτονί, τὸν πάντων
 ἔρημον οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, εὐγενέστατον εἶναι, τῆς
 πρὸς θεὸν συγγενείας ὀρεχθέντα καὶ σπουδάσαντα
 μηχανῇ πάσῃ γνώριμον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ ταχ-
 θέντα μὲν τάξιν ἀρίστην τὴν ἐν προφήταις, πιστεύ-
 σαντα δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου
 καὶ πάντων πατρός, καὶ βασιλέα δέ, ὡς ἔφην, παρὰ
 τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις νομισθέντα, μήθ' ὅπλοις μήτε
 στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὡς ἐνίοις ἔθος, λαβόντα
 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ χειροτονία θεοῦ τοῦ φιλαρέτου
 τοὺς εὐσεβείας ἐραστὰς αὐτοκρατέσιν ἐξουσίαις
 γεραίροντος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συντυγχανόντων;
 219 οὗτος ἅπασι ἐπηλύταις εὐγενείας ἐστὶ κανὼν, δυσ-

¹ The genitive of quality is unusual, if not impossible, in Greek. Mangey suggested μεσὸς or ὑπόπλεως ὧν. Perhaps λαχῶν.

ON THE VIRTUES, 216-219

of the virtues, he gained with it all the other virtues, so that by those among whom he settled he was regarded as a king,^a not because of the outward state which surrounded him, mere commoner that he was, but because of his greatness of soul, for his spirit was the spirit of a king. Indeed, they continued to 217 treat him with a respect which subjects pay to a ruler, being awe-struck at the all-embracing greatness of his nature and its more than human perfection. For the society also which he sought was not the same as they sought, but oftener under inspiration another more august. Thus whenever he was possessed, everything in him changed to something better, eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, movements, voice. For the divine spirit which was breathed upon him from on high made its lodging in his soul, and invested his body with singular beauty, his voice with persuasiveness, and his hearers with understanding. Would you not say that this lone wan- 218 derer without relatives or friends was of the highest nobility, he who craved for kinship with God and strove by every means to live in familiarity with Him, he who while ranked among the prophets, a post of such high excellence, put his trust in nothing created rather than in the Uncreated and Father of all, he who as I have said was regarded as a king by those in whose midst he settled, a sovereignty gained not with weapons, nor with mighty armies, as is the way of some, but by the election of God, the friend of virtue, who rewards the lovers of piety with imperial powers to benefit those around them? He is the stan- 219 dard of nobility for all proselytes, who, abandoning

^a Gen. xxiii. 6. E.V. "Thou art a mighty prince among us." LXX βασιλεύς.

γένειαν μὲν τὴν ἐξ ἀλλοκότων νόμων καὶ ἐκθέσμων ἐθῶν, ἃ λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις καὶ συνόλως ἀψύχοις ἰσοθέους ἀπένειμε τιμὰς, καταλιποῦσι, καλὴν δ' ἀποικίαν στείλαμένοις πρὸς ἔμφυχον τῷ ὄντι καὶ ζῶσαν πολιτείαν, ἧς ἔφορος καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλήθεια.

- 220 XL. Ταύτην τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐζήλωσαν, ἀπομαθοῦσαι μὲν ἀμαθίαν τὴν σύντροφον περὶ τιμῆς τῶν χειροκμήτων, παιδευθεῖσαι δὲ τὴν περὶ μοναρχίας ἐπιστήμην, ἣ μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος. Θάμαρ ἦν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας γύναιον, ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ πόλει τραφέν πολυθῶ γεμούσῃ ξοάνων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρυμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἐκ σκότους βαθέος ἐδυνήθη βραχείαν αὐγὴν ἀληθείας ἰδεῖν, θανάτου κινδύνῳ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἠὲ τομολήσεν ὀλίγα φροντίσασα τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καλῶς ζῆν· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀνέφερεν ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ ἱκεσίαν τοῦ ἐνὸς
- 222 αἰτίου. καίτοι δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἀμφοτέροις πονηροῖς ἐν μέρει γημαμένη, κουριδίῳ μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ, τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ κατ' ἐπιδικασίας νόμον,¹ γενεὰν τοῦ προτέρου μὴ καταλιπόντος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκηλίδωτον

¹ MSS. κατ' ἐπιδικασίαν νόμου (S) *et al.*

^a Unless there is some independent tradition of Tamar's lineage, about which nothing is said in Gen. xxxviii. 6 ff., we must suppose that Philo assumes that, since she is not said like Rebekah and Rachel and Leah to come of the line of the patriarchs, she belonged to the idolatrous people around. On Tamar see App. p. 450.

^b *i.e.* the husband of her youth, him to whom her virginity was given. *κουριδίος*, which in § 114 was used in the ordinary sense of a wedded or lawful mate, cannot mean this here, as 298

the ignobility of strange laws and monstrous customs which assigned divine honours to stocks and stones and soulless things in general, have come to settle in a better land, in a commonwealth full of true life and vitality, with truth as its director and president.

XL. To this nobility not only did men beloved of 220 God aspire, but women also, who unlearnt the errors of their breeding, the ignorance which led them to honour the works of men's hands, and became schooled in the knowledge of the monarchical principle by which the world is governed. Tamar was 221 a woman from Palestinian Syria, bred in a house and city which acknowledged a multitude of gods and was full of images and wooden busts and idols in general.^a But when passing, as it were, from profound darkness she was able to glimpse a little ray of truth, she deserted to the camp of piety at the risk of her life, caring little for its preservation, if it were not to be a good life. This good life she held to mean nothing else than to be the servant and suppliant of the one great Cause. Although she was married 222 to two brothers in turn, both of them wicked, to the elder as her husband in the usual way,^b to the younger under the law of the duties of the next of kin,^c as the elder had left no issue, she nevertheless kept her own

the second marriage was as lawful as the first. The meaning which it appears to have here is also found in *Odyssey* xv. 22, and is noted in Stephanus, though not in L. & S.

^a Gen. xxxviii. 7 f. "At Athens when a woman was left an heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*), without having a male *κύριος*, or guardian, the next of kin might claim her in marriage. This claim was called *ἐπίδικασία*" (*Dict. of Ant.*). Though this law is very different from the Hebrew law that the deceased husband's brother should marry the childless widow, they have this in common, that they deal with the right possessed by the next of kin to the woman's hand.

διαφυλάξασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς βίον ἴσχυσε καὶ τῆς προσ-
ηκούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐφημίας ἐπιλαχεῖν καὶ τοῖς
μετ' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν εὐγενείας ἀφορμὴ γενέσθαι.

ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἀλλόφυλος, ἀλλ'
οὖν γε ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων καὶ οὐκ ἀσήμε-
223 ἴσως. θεράπαινοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐν ἐσχα-
τιαῖς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος γεννηθεῖσαι προικίδιαι μὲν
ἐδόθησαν γαμουμέναις ταῖς τροφίμαις, ἄξιαί δὲ
[444] κριθεῖσαι | παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἐκ παλλακίδων εἰς γαμετῶν ὄνομα καὶ
σχῆμα παρῆλθον καὶ ἀντὶ θεραπαινίδων ἰσότημοι
ταῖς δεσποίταις ὀλίγου δέω φάναι κατέστησαν
ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀπιστότατον, πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ
ἀξίωμα παραπεμφθεῖσαι· φθόνος γὰρ οὐκ εἰσοικί-
ζεται σοφῶν ψυχαῖς, οὐ μὴ παρόντος κοινοπραγοῦσι
224 τῶν ἀγαθῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τούτων νόθοι παῖδες γνησίων
οὐδὲν διήνεγκαν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῷ γεννήσαντι—
θαυμαστὸν γὰρ οὐδέν, εἰ τοῖς μὴ ὁμογαστρίοις ὁ
πάντων κοινὸς πατήρ τὴν αὐτὴν εὖνοιαν παρεῖχεν—,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς μητρυαῖς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ
<πρὸς> προγονοὺς μῖσος ἀναιρούμεναι εἰς ἄλεκτον
225 μεθηρμόσαντο κηδεμονίαν· οἱ δὲ προγονοὶ τῇ κατ'
ἀντίδοσιν εὖνοιά τὰς μητρυαῖς ὡς φύσει μητέρας
ἐξετίμησαν· ἀδελφοί τε μέρει ἡμίσει¹ τοῦ γένους

¹ MSS. μέρει ἡμισυ (S) or μέρει τῇ μίξει *et al.*

^a *i.e.* in the house of Laban, Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10).

^b Gen. xxix. 24 "Laban gave Zilpah his handmaiden unto

life stainless and was able to win the good report which belongs to the good and to become the original source to which the nobility of all who followed her can be traced. But she, though a foreigner, was, at any rate, a free woman, of free lineage, and that perhaps of no little note. There 223 were women born beyond the Euphrates,^a in the extreme parts of Babylonia, who were handmaids and were given as dowry ^b to the ladies of the house at their marriage. But when they had been judged worthy to pass on to the wise man's bed, the first consequence was that they passed on from mere concubinage to the name and position of wedded wives, and were treated no longer as handmaids, but as almost equal in rank to their mistresses, who, indeed, incredible as it seems, promoted them to the same dignity as themselves.^c For jealousy finds no home in the souls of the wise and free from its presence they share their good things with others. Secondly, the base-born sons of the handmaids re- 224 ceived the same treatment as the legitimate, not only from the father, who might fairly be expected to show the same kindness to the children of different mothers, since his paternity extends to all alike, but also from the stepmothers. They rid themselves of hatred for the step-children and replaced it by an extraordinary regard for their interests, while the 225 step-children returned their goodwill and honoured their stepmothers as fully as if they were their natural mothers. The brothers, though reckoned as half-Leah his daughter for a hand maid to her," and so Bilhah to Rachel, v. 29.

^c Or perhaps "recommended them for promotion," which the ordinary sense of *παραπέμπω* = "escort" rather suggests. See Gen. xxx. 3 and 9.

νομισθέντες οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείᾳ στέργειν¹ ἀλλήλους
 ἡξίωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον τὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ
 ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι πάθος συναυξήσαντες καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν
 ὑστερίζειν προσανεπλήρωσαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γεγο-
 νόσιν εἰς ἁρμονίαν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἡθῶν συνδραμεῖν
 σπουδάσαντες.

- 226 XLI. "Ἐτι τοίνυν μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ² τοῖς ὡς ἴδιον
 ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδουμένοις; οἱ
 δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐχθροὶ δικαίως <ἂν> νομισθεῖεν
 καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ
 πάντων, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι διδόασιν τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐκε-
 χειρίαν ὀλιγωρεῖν ὑγιαίνοντος <βίου καὶ> βεβαίου
 πεποιθήσει προγονικῆς ἀρετῆς, τῶν δ' ὅτι, κὰν ἐπ'
 αὐτὴν φθάσωσιν ἀκρότητα καλοκαγαθίας, οὐδὲν
 ὠφελήθησονται διὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν γονέων καὶ πάπ-
 227 πων ἀνεπιλήπτων. ἥς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις βλαβερωτέρα
 γένοιτ' ἂν εἰσήγησις, εἰ μήτε τοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν

¹ At this point the important ms. F is mutilated; its reading for the remaining sections are supplied by Cohn from the ms. which he believes to be a copy of it, and indeed its twin (*gemellus*), known as Vaticanus 379.

² So or *μεταδοτέον αὐτοῖς τοῖς* in all mss. except the twin of F just mentioned, which has *τί τοίνυν μεταδοτέον τοῖς*, and this Cohn adopts and translates "what have we to do (or share "teilen") with those who," etc. But apart from the question whether the ms. evidence is weighty, this implies a use of *μεταδίδωμι* which I have never noted in Philo, who regularly follows it with the genitive. Cohn and others seem to have found a difficulty in *αὐτοῦ*, for which *λόγου* has been proposed.

ON THE VIRTUES, 225-227

brothers by blood, did not think it enough to give a half affection to each other, but showed a twofold increase of tenderness in the love which they gave and received in return ; and the seeming defectiveness in their relationship they made good by the eagerness with which they hastened to unite both families in harmony and reciprocity of feeling.

XLI. Must we not then absolutely reject the 226 claims of those who assume as their own precious possession the nobility which belongs to others, who, different ^a from those just mentioned, might well be considered enemies of the Jewish nation and of every person in every place? Enemies of our nation, because they give their compatriots licence to put their trust in the virtue of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and stedfast life. Enemies of people in general, who even if they reach the very summit of moral excellence, will not benefit thereby, if their parents and grandparents were not beyond reproach. I doubt indeed if any more mischievous 227 doctrine could be propounded than this, that avenging justice will not follow the children of good parents

^a Mangey gives for *δίχα* "his exceptis," and so Cohn. But "Those who claim to be *εὐγενεῖς* because of their descent, when their conduct was not *εὐγενής* except those whose conduct was *εὐγενής*, though their descent was not, are enemies," etc., is not sense. I have not found examples in prose for the sense required here, but Aesch. *Prom.* 927 ὅσον τό τ' ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν *δίχα* is much the same.

If the sentence had been written as a statement in the reverse form *τοῖς . . . τὸ ἀλλότριον, εὐγένειαν, ὑποδομένοις οὐ μεταδοτέον αὐτοῦ*, it would be perfectly natural, and the form here by which *αὐτοῦ* anticipates instead of follows the noun to which it refers does not create a serious difficulty. *ἔτι τοίνυν* as in § 85 and § 141 = "can we after this?"

PHILO

πονηρευομένοις ἐπακολουθήσει τιμωρὸς δίκη μήτε τοῖς ἐκ πονηρῶν ἀγαθοῖς ἔψεται τιμή, τοῦ νόμου δοκιμάζοντος ἕκαστον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ συγγενῶν ἀρεταῖς ἢ κακίαις ἐπαινοῦντος ἢ κολάζοντος.

ON THE VIRTUES, 227

if they turn to wickedness, and that honour will not be the reward of the good children of the wicked, thus contradicting the law, which assesses each person on his own merits and does not take into account the virtues or vices of his kinsmen in awarding praise or punishment.

ON REWARDS AND
PUNISHMENTS
(DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS*

The treatise begins with some remarks on the scheme on which Moses constructed his law book (1-3) and how it was observed by some and disregarded by others (4-6). Coming to the main subject of the rewards for obedience and punishments for disobedience he notes that those described in the history may be classified under individuals, houses or groups, cities, countries and nations, and larger regions (7). We take the rewards to individuals and start with the less perfect Trinity, Enos, Enoch and Noah, who exemplify respectively hopefulness, repentance and justice. Hope is the motive of all human effort and hope in God is its only true form (8-13). Enos the hoper was rewarded with a name which means that he is a true man (14). Enoch's repentance is rewarded by his "transference" away from the common herd to the isolation which the converted need (15-21). Noah the just was saved from the flood and made the founder of renewed mankind (22-23). The second Trinity, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, represent the true religion which despises vanity (24-27). Abraham the *Taught* learnt to believe in God and his reward was faith (28-30). Isaac the *Self-taught* instinctively rejoiced in all God's dispensations and his reward was joy (31-35). Jacob the *Practiser* sought to see God, not merely to infer him from his works, and his reward was the vision indicated by his name of Israel (36-46) and also the spiritual qualities signified in the "numbing of the broad part" (47-48). These lessons are recapitulated (49-51). But we must not forget Moses and his fourfold reward of kingship, lawgiving, prophecy and priesthood (52-56).

We pass on to rewards to "houses." Abraham and Isaac had families which contained some unworthy members: Jacob's children alone as a body were qualified for the reward, namely the privilege of founding the twelve tribes which

PHILO

expanded into a great nation (57-62 and 66); incidentally we may draw a philosophical lesson from the three families as types of the children or qualities shown by the three types of soul (61-65).

We then turn to the punishments of which only two examples are given in what has come down to us. First, for individuals we have Cain, whose punishment was to be ever dying, never dead, carrying on an existence from which joy and pleasure have been eliminated and in which not only permanent grief but fear of what is coming are perpetually present (67-73). For houses we have the revolt of the Levites under Korah. Their offence is described, but the story of their punishment is lost by a break in the manuscripts (74-78); for the possibilities at this point see App. p. 455.

When the discourse, as we have it, is resumed we have come to the blessings promised in the law to the righteous. The first is victory over enemies, but before discussing who these enemies are he urges the necessity of not merely hearing but carrying out the law (79-84). The enemies are of two kinds, wild beasts and men; when men become what they should be, the beasts will also be tamed and men will eschew war with each other (85-92). War will either never come or if some still are mad enough to attack, they will be routed at once, and good government will be established (93-97). The second blessing is wealth, and many passages are cited which describe the abundance that is to be (98-107). The third is long life, and to this is appended the thought that the true long life is the good life, to which God may recall the human soul even as he promises to recall the repentant exiles (108-117). These four are external blessings; for the body there is promised the exemption from disease in which the good mind can rest and think (118-126).

He then turns to punishment or curses, all of which closely follow Leviticus and Deuteronomy. The first is famine, drought and destruction of every kind of crop by nature if not by enemy (127-133), followed by all the horrors of cannibalism (134), miseries which they will be unable to escape by suicide (135-136); enslavement with all its miseries (137-140); a curse resting not only on the land and fruits but on all undertakings (141-142); bodily diseases of every kind (143-146); the terrors of war, panic, wild beasts, destruction of cities and finally utter despair (147-151). Mean-

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

while the proselytes will prosper, thus teaching the lesson that it is not race but obedience which brings salvation (152). He then descants on the sabbaths which according to Leviticus the desolate land will enjoy. It had been wronged by the neglect of the sabbatical years, and will now take its rest and then after a while may produce a better race (153-158). This reminds him of the text "She that is desolate hath many children," a saying which can be applied allegorically to the converted soul which has been deserted by its vices and brings forth virtues (159-161).

So much for the punishments, but there is also the promise of restoration to the penitent and a renewal of the national life in greater prosperity than ever (162-168); the curses will be turned upon the persecutors, who will find that their victory was transient and that the race which they despised had still a seed from which new life would spring (169-172).

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΘΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΩΝ¹

(ΚΑΙ ΑΡΩΝ)

[408] ¹ I. Τῶν μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως
 λογίων τρεῖς ἰδέας εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὴν μὲν περὶ
 κοσμοποιίας, τὴν δὲ ἱστορικὴν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην νομο-
 θετικὴν. ἡ μὲν οὖν κοσμοποιία παγκάλως πᾶσα
 καὶ θεοπρεπῶς μεμήνυται, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ
 γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ λήξασα εἰς ἀνθρώπου κατα-
 σκευήν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀφθάρτων τελειότατος, ὁ δὲ
 θνητῶν. ἀθάνατα δὲ καὶ θνητὰ ἐν γενέσει συν-
 υφαίνων ὁ ποιητὴς εἰργάσατο τὸν κόσμον, τὰ μὲν
 γενόμενα ἡγεμονικά, τὰ δ' ὥς ὑπήκοα καὶ γενησό-
² μενα.² τὸ δὲ ἱστορικὸν μέρος ἀναγραφὴ

¹ On the title see App. p. 451.

² So mss. Cohn prints τὰ μὲν [γενόμενα] <ὥς> ἡγεμονικά, τὰ δ' ὥς ὑπήκοα [καὶ] γενησόμενα and translates "destined the former to be subjects, the latter to be rulers." I can see no difficulty in the mss. text if translated as above. It is an indisputable truth that, while the heavenly bodies (in Philo's view) were created once for all, mortals are perpetually being brought into being, and indeed Philo himself often insists upon it in connexion with parenthood. If any correction is required, I should omit the somewhat pointless ὥς and possibly change καὶ to ἀεὶ = "from time to time." But this is hardly necessary, for though mortals will be perpetually created, they were also created at the beginning. It is of

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

(AND CURSES)

I. The oracles delivered through the prophet Moses 1
are of three kinds.^a The first deals with the creation
of the world, the second with history and the third
with legislation. The story of the creation is told
throughout with an excellence worthy of the divine
subject, beginning with the genesis of Heaven and
ending with the framing of man. For Heaven is the
most perfect of things indestructible as man of things
mortal, immortal and mortal being the original com-
ponents out of which the Creator wrought the world,
the one created then and there to take command, the
other subject, as it were, to be also created in the
future. The historical part is a record of 2

^a The scheme here laid down is, with a slight difference
of terms, identical with that given in *Mos.* ii. 46 ff. There
the Pentateuch is analysed into two parts, the historical and
the legislative, but the historical is divided into the creation
story and the "genealogical," a term which was applied in
the grammatical schools to that part of history which is
concerned with particular persons, rather than with places,
dates or events. See note to that passage (vol. vi. p. 606).

course no objection to this that in § 9 he says that the
necessaries for mortal subsistence were prepared from the
beginning.

βίων ἐστὶ σπουδαίων καὶ πονηρῶν καὶ τὰ ὀρισθέντα ἐκατέροις ἐπιτίμια καὶ γέρα ἐν ἐκάσταις γενεαῖς. τοῦ δὲ νομοθετικοῦ τὸ μὲν καθολικωτέραν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχει, τὸ δ' ἕτερον (τῶν κατὰ) μέρος νομίμων εἰσὶν ἐντολαί· κεφάλαια μὲν¹ δέκα, ἅπερ λέγεται κεχρησμοῦσθαι οὐ δι' ἔρμηνεύς ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὑψώματι τοῦ αἵματος σχηματιζόμενα καὶ ἄρθρωσιν ἔχοντα λογικὴν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ κατ'
 [409] ³ εἶδος [μέρη] διὰ τοῦ | προφῆτου θεσπισθέντα. περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων ὅσα καιρὸς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις συντάξεσι διεξελθὼν καὶ προσέτι τῶν ἀρετῶν ἃς ἀπένειμεν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ πολέμῳ μέτειμι κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τὰ προτεθέντα καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀθλα καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπιτίμια.

⁴ Συνασκήσας γὰρ ὑψηγήσεις καὶ προτροπαῖς μαλακωτέραις καὶ πάλιν ἐπανατάσεις καὶ νοθεσίαις ἐμβριθεστέραις τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτευομένους ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν ὧν ἐπαιδεύθησαν ἐπίδειξιν· οἱ δὲ παρελθόντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα γυμνὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνέφηναν εἰς ἐναργέστατον
⁵ ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας. εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἀθληταὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκοντο μὴ ψεύσαντες τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος τοὺς ἀλείπτας νόμους, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ ἀγεννεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου μαλακίας τὰς ψυχάς, πρὶν ἢ δυνατώτερόν τι ἀντιβιάσασθαι, προκαταπίπτοντες αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλῳ θεατῶν

¹ MSS. δὲ or omit.

^a See on *De Virt.* 22.

^b I understand this and the next section to refer to the subsequent history of the Jewish Church and nation. The

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 2-5

good and bad lives and of the sentences passed in each generation on both, rewards in one case, punishments in the other. The legislative part has two divisions, one in which the subject matter is more general, the other consisting of the ordinances of specific laws. On the one hand there are the ten heads or summaries which we are told were not delivered through a spokesman but were shaped high above in the air into the form of articulate speech : on the other the specific ordinances of the oracles given through the lips of a prophet. All these and 3 further the virtues which he assigned to peace and war^a have been discussed as fully as was needful in the preceding treatises, and I now proceed in due course to the rewards and punishments which the good and the bad have respectively to expect.

After having schooled the citizens of his polity with 4 gentle instructions and exhortations and more sternly with threats and warnings he called on them to make a practical exhibition of what they had learned. They advanced as it were into the sacred arena and showed the spirit in which they would act bared ready for the contest, to the end that its sincerity might be tested beyond doubt.^b Then it was found 5 that the true athletes of virtue did not disappoint the high hopes of the laws which had trained them, but the unmanly whose souls were degenerate through inbred weakness, without waiting for any stronger counter-force to overpower them, dropped down, a source of shame to themselves and derision to the Pentateuch records the laws which Moses bequeathed, the later history examples of failure or success in carrying them out. Philo, however, never works out this part, and indeed hardly ever makes any allusion to the later history. See App. p. 451.

6 ἐγίνοντο. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν βραβείων καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα νικῶσι δίδονται μετελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀστεφάνωτοι μόνον ἀπήεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦτταν ἐπονείδιστον ἐνδεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀργαλεωτέραν· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητῶν σώματα κλίνεται ῥαδίως ὀρθοῦσθαι δυνάμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὅλοι βίοι πίπτουσιν, οὓς ἅπαξ ἀνατραπέντας μόλις ἔστιν ἀνεγείραι.

7 Τῆς δὲ προνομίας καὶ τιμῆς καὶ τούναντίον κολάσεως τάξεις ἐναρμονίους ὑφηγεῖται, κατ' ἄνδρας, κατ' οἴκους, κατὰ πόλεις, κατὰ χώρας καὶ ἔθνη, κατὰ κλίματα γῆς μεγάλα. II. πρότερον δ' ἐρευνητέον τὰ ἐπὶ τιμαῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ λυσιτελέστερα καὶ ἡδίων πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντας τὴν
8 ἐφ' ἐνὸς¹ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει. φασὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον Τριπτόλεμον Ἕλληνας ἀρθέντα μετέωρον ἐπὶ πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατασπείρειν, ἀντὶ βαλανηφαγίας ἢ ἐχθρὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἡμερον καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἡδίστην τροφήν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς εἰωθόσι τερατεύεσθαι μύθου πλάσμα ὃν ἀπολελείφθω σοφιστείαν πρὸ σοφίας καὶ γοη-
9 τείαν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἐπιτετηδευκόσιν. ἐξ ἀρχῆς

¹ One MSS. ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, which Cohn adopts. Some others either ἀφ' or ἐφ' ἐκάστου, omitting ἐνὸς. See note b.

^a See note on the lacuna, § 78, App. p. 455.

^b The translation takes τὴν as agreeing with τιμὴν understood out of τιμαῖς. Cohn's ἀφ' for ἐφ' would presumably make it agree with ἀρχήν, though his translation "we will make a beginning with the honours for single persons" points rather to the other. The translation also takes τῶν ἐν μέρει as partitive genitive after ἐκάστου, but it might pos-

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 6-9

spectators. And therefore, while the former enjoyed 6 the prizes and laudatory announcements and all the other tributes which are paid to the victors, the latter departed not only without a crown but with the stigma of a defeat more grievous than those sustained in the gymnastic contests. For there the athletes' bodies are brought low but can easily stand once more erect. Here it is whole lives that fall, which once overthrown can hardly be raised up again.

The lessons which he gives on privilege, and 7 honour, and on the other hand on punishments fall under heads arranged in an orderly series, individual men, families, cities, countries and nations, vast regions of the earth.^a II. We must first examine what is said of honours, as both more profitable and more pleasant to listen to, and we will begin with the honour paid to each single and particular individual.^b The Greeks say that the primeval hero 8 Triptolemus ^c borne aloft on winged dragons sowed the corn-seed over the whole earth, in order that in place of the acorns which had been their food the human race might have a kindly,^d wholesome and exceedingly palatable means of nourishment. Now this story like many others is a mythical fable and may be left to those whose way is to deal in marvels and cultivate sophistry rather than wisdom, and imposture rather than truth. For from the 9

sibly refer to the "heads," individuals, families, etc., *i.e.* begin among the particular heads with the honours to individuals.

^c For Triptolemus see App. p. 451. The sequence of thought in these two sections is "just as God" (not a man as the pagan myth says) "provided the corn-seed for the body at the beginning, so he provided the seed of hope for the soul."

^d See note on the use of ἡμερος, § 60 App. p. 454.

- γὰρ ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὅλων ὁ θεὸς προεντρεπίσατο τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις ἐκ γῆς ἀνείς, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ᾧ τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς γηγενέσιν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχαρίζετο. τῶν γὰρ θείων ἔργων οὐδὲν ὀψίγονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα τέχναις καὶ ἐπιμελείαις ὕστερον τελειοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, πάντως ἡμίεργα προϋπόκειται προμηθεῖα
- [410] φύσεως, ὡς μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τὰς | μαθήσεις ἀνα-
 10 μνήσεις εἶναι λέγεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπερκείσθω· τὴν δ' ἀναγκαιοτάτην σπορὰν ἐπισκεπτέον, ἣν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ἀρετῷσῃ χώρα κατ-
 11 ἐσπείρε, λογικῇ ψυχῇ. ταύτης δ' ὁ πρῶτος σπόρος ἐστὶν ἐλπίς, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν βίων. ἐλπίδι μὲν γὰρ κέρδους ὁ χρηματιστὴς ἐπαποδύεται πολυτρόποις ιδέαις πορισμῶν, ἐλπίδι δ' ὁ ναύκληρος εὐπλοίας περαιοῦται τὰ μακρὰ πελάγη· ἐλπίδι δόξης καὶ ὁ φιλότιμος αἰρεῖται πολιτείαν καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν· δι' ἐλπίδα βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων καὶ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀσκηταὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας διαθλοῦσιν· ἐλπίς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοὺς ἀρετῆς ζηλωτὰς ἐπαίρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς ταύτῃ δυνησομένους καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἰδεῖν καὶ δρᾶσαι τὰ ἀκόλουθα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων βίων θεωρητικοῦ τε καὶ πρακτικοῦ τελείωσιν, ὧν
 12 ὁ τυχὼν εὐθύς ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐλπίδος σπέρματα ἢ ὡς πολέμοιοι τὰς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κακίας ζωπυρήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ ὡς ἀμελεῖς τέχνης τῆς γεωργικῆς ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας διέφθειραν.

^a With ἀκόλουθα sc. φύσει from above—a regular Stoic expression in Philo. This is better, I think, than to take it with πρὸς = “agreeing with” or “tending to.” So Mangey

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 9-12

beginning at the first creation of all things God provided beforehand, raised from the earth, what was necessary for all living animals and particularly for the human race to which he granted sovereignty over all earthborn creatures. For none of the works of God is of later birth, but all that seems to be accomplished by human skill and industry in later time was there by the foresight of nature lying ready half made, thus justifying the saying that learning is recollection. But this is not 10 a point for our present discussion. What we have to consider is that most vital form of seed which the Creator sowed in the rich soil of the rational soul. And the first thing thus sown is hope, the fountain 11 head of the lives which we lead. In hope of gain the tradesman arms himself for the manifold forms of money getting. In hope of a successful voyage the skipper crosses the wide open seas. In hope of glory the ambitious man chooses political life and the charge of public affairs. The hope of prizes and crowns moves the training athlete to endure the contests of the arena. The hope of happiness incites also the devotees of virtue to study wisdom, believing that thus they will be able to discern the nature of all that exists and to act in accordance with nature ^a and so bring to their fullness the best types of life, the contemplative and the practical, which necessarily make their possessor a happy man. Now some have acted 12 like enemies in war to the germs of hope, and consumed them in the fire of the vices which they have kindled in the soul or like careless husbandmen have through their laziness allowed them to perish. There

“consentanea perfectioni,” and so apparently Cohn. With this one would expect the dative rather than *πρός*.

- εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ δόξαντες ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φιλαυτίαν πρὸ
 εὐσεβείας ἀσπασάμενοι, τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κατορθω-
 13 μάτων ἀνέθηκαν ἑαυτοῖς. ὑπαίτιοι δὲ πάντες
 οὗτοι· μόνος δ' ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος ὁ ἀναθεὶς τὴν
 ἐλπίδα θεῷ καὶ ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῆς καὶ
 ὡς ἀσινῇ καὶ ἀδιάφθορον ἱκανῷ μόνῳ διαφυλάξαι.
 τί οὖν ἄθλον πρόκειται τῷ στεφανωθέντι τὸν
 ἀγῶνα τοῦτον; τὸ μικτὸν ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου
 φύσεως ζῶον, ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὗθ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὗθ'
 14 ἕτερος ὢν τοῦ λαβόντος. τοῦτον Χαλδαῖοι μὲν
 προσονομάζουσιν Ἐνώς, εἰς δ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν
 μεταληφθεὶς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα τοῦ
 γένους ἴδιον λαβὼν, ἄθλον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς δέον
 μηδένα νομίζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἂν
 μὴ ἐπὶ θεὸν ἐλπίζη.
- 15 III. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδος νίκην ἀγῶν δεύτερός
 ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ μετάνοια ἀγωνίζεται τῆς μὲν ἀτρέπτου
 καὶ ἀμεταβλήτου καὶ αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ ὡσαύτως
 ἐχούσης φύσεως ἀμοιρήσασα, ζήλῳ δὲ καὶ ἔρωτι
 τοῦ βελτίονος ἐξαίφνης κατασχεθεῖσα καὶ σπεύ-
 δουσα καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὴν σύντροφον πλεονεξίαν
 καὶ ἀδικίαν, μεθορμίσασθαι δὲ πρὸς σωφροσύνην

^a The next sections, largely repeating *De Abr.* 7 ff., are based on Gen. iv. 26, where the E.V. "He called his name Enosh (A.V. Enos), then began men to call on the name of the Lord God," appears in the LXX "He called his name Enos, he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God." Enos being a Hebrew word for man, Philo argues that his reward for his hopefulness was that he received the name of man, i.e. the true man. See note on *De Abr.* 8.

^b i.e. not a man, and therefore not either himself or any other, but "man," all that true manhood includes.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 12-15

are others who seem to have guarded them well but have clung to self-assertion rather than piety and regarded themselves as the source of their achievements. All these are to be condemned. "He alone 13 is worthy of approval who sets his hope on God both as the source to which his coming into existence itself is due and as the sole power which can keep him free from harm and destruction. What reward then is offered to the winner of the Crown in this contest? It is that living being whose nature is a mixture of the mortal and immortal, even man, not the same man nor yet another than the winner.^b The Hebrew 14 name for him is Enos, and Enos translated into Greek is ἄνθρωπος or man. He takes the name which is common to the whole race as his personal name, a reward of special distinction implying that no one should be thought a man at all who does not set his hope on God.

III. After the victory of hope comes the second 15 contest, in which repentance is the champion.^c Repentance has nothing of that nature which remains ever in the same stay without movement or change. It has been suddenly possessed with an ardent yearning for betterment, eager to leave its inbred covetousness and injustice and come over to sober-

^c Philo's treatment of the story of Enoch is much the same as in the parallel passage *De Abr.* 17 ff. It is based on Gen. v. 24 LXX as quoted in § 16 "he was not found because God transferred him." E.V. "He was not, for God took him." The chief differences are that the first part of the verse "Enoch was well pleasing to God," is not noted here, and that "transferred," which in *De Abr.* is interpreted as a change from vice to virtue, is here taken more as "removed from familiar surroundings." As to the interpretation given in Heb. xi. 5 "he was translated that he should not see death," see note in vol. vi. p. 597.

- 16 καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετάς. ἄθλα καὶ ταύτῃ προτίθεται διττὰ ἐπὶ διττοῖς κατορθώμασιν, ἀπολείπει μὲν αἰσchrῶν, αἰρέσει δὲ τῶν καλλίστων.
- [411] τὰ δ' ἄθλα ἀποικία καὶ μόνωσις· φησὶ | γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰς μὲν σώματος νεωτεροποιίας ἀποδράντος, αὐτομολήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ψυχὴν· “οὐχ εὐρίσκετο,
- 17 διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.” αἰνίττεται δὲ ἐναργῶς διὰ μὲν τῆς μεταθέσεως τὴν ἀποικίαν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκεσθαι τὴν μόνωσιν· καὶ σφόδρα οἰκείως· εἰ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἄνθρωπος καταπεφρόνηκεν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἐπάνω τῶν παθῶν ἀψευδῶς ἔγνωκεν ἴστασθαι, [πρὸς] μετανάστασιν εὐτρεπιζέσθω φεύγων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ
- 18 οἶκον καὶ πατρίδα καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους. ὁλκὸν γὰρ ἡ συνήθεια, ὡς δέος εἶναι, μὴ καταμείνας ἀλῶ τοσούτοις ἐν κύκλῳ φίλτροις ἀποληφθεῖς, ὧν αἱ φαντασίαι τὴν ἐγγενομένην ἡσυχίαν τῶν αἰσchrῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πάλιν ἀνακινήσουσι καὶ μνήμας ἐναύλους, ὧν ἐπιλελῆσθαι καλὸν ἦν, ἐνεργάσσονται.
- 19 πολλοὶ γοῦν ἀποδημίαις ἐσωφρονίσθησαν, ἔρωτας ἐκμανεῖς καὶ λελυττηκότας θεραπευθέντες, οὐκέτι τῆς ὄψεως χορηγεῖν δυναμένης τῷ πάθει τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ εἶδωλα· τῇ γὰρ διαζεύξει κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνειν ἀνάγκη, μηκέτι παρόντος ὑφ' οὗ διερεθισθῇ-
- 20 σεται. καὶ μεταναστῇ μέντοι, τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θιάσους ἐκτρεπέσθω μόνωσιν ἀσπαζόμενος· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ὅμοια τοῖς οἴκοι δίκτυα, οἷς ἀνάγκη περιπείρεσθαι¹ τοὺς ἀπροοράτως ἔχοντας καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν χαίροντας ὁμιλίαις· ὃ τι γὰρ

¹ An odd word to connect with δίκτυα, which seems to be used exclusively of nets, and though stakes might be set round the nets, the reference must be to the way in which

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 16-20

ness and justice and the other virtues. Repentance 16 also has two rewards assigned to its double achievement in abandoning the base and choosing the excellent. These rewards are a new home and a life of solitude ; for he says of him who fled from the insurgency of the body to join the forces of the soul " he was not found because God transferred him."

By " transference " he clearly signifies the new home 17 and by " not found " the life of solitude. Very pertinently too. For if a man has really come to despise pleasures and desires and resolved in all sincerity to take his stand above the passions, he must prepare for a change of abode and flee from home and country and kinsfolk and friends without a backward glance. For great is the attraction of familiarity. 18 We may fear that if he stays he may be cut off and captured by all the love charms which surround him and will call up visions to stir again the base practices which had lain dormant and create vivid memories of what it were well to have forgotten. Many persons 19 in fact have come to a wiser mind by leaving their country and have been cured of their wild and frenzied cravings when sight can no longer minister to passion the images of pleasure. For when thus dissociated it must needs be treading on empty space since the stimulus of pleasure is no longer present. And further if he changes his abode he 20 must shun great gatherings and welcome solitude. It cannot but be that even in the foreign soil there are many snares like those at home on which the short-sighted who delight in large assemblies are sure to be pinned. For a crowd is another name for every-

the prey would naturally be caught. Perhaps read *περι-πλέκεσθαι*.

PHILO

- ἄτακτον, ἄκοσμον, πλημμελές, ὑπαίτιον, τοῦτο ὄχλος ἐστί, μεθ' οὗ φέρεσθαι τῷ νῦν πρῶτον μετ-
 21 οικισαμένῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλυσιτελέστατον. ὥς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκ νόσου μακρᾶς ἀρχομένοις ἀναλαμβάνειν εὐάλωτά πῶς ἐστι τὰ σώματα μήπω πρὸς ἰσχὺν παγέντα κραταιότεραν, οὕτως καὶ οἷς ἡ ψυχὴ νῦν πρῶτον ὑγιαίνεται πλαδῶσιν οἱ νοεροὶ τόνοι καὶ κραδαίνονται, ὥς δέος εἶναι, μὴ πάλιν ἐξορμήσῃ τὸ πάθος, ὃ πέφυκεν ἐκ τῆς τῶν εἰκαιότερων συνδιαιτήσεως ἀνερεθίζεσθαι.
- 22 IV. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς μετανοίας ἀγῶνας τρίτα ἄθλα τίθεται δικαιοσύνης, ἧς ὁ μεταποιησάμενος λαμβάνει γέρα διττά, τὸ μὲν σωτήριον ἐν κοινῇ φθορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ταμίαν καὶ φύλακα γενέσθαι ἐξ ἐκάστης ζώων ἰδέας ἡρμοσμένων ζυγάδην εἰς
 23 δευτέραν γένεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπολλυμένης. ἡξίωσε γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τέλος γενέσθαι τῆς κατακρίτου γενεᾶς καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀνυπαιτίου, διδάσκων τοὺς ἀπρονόητον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον λέγοντας ἔργοις, οὐ ῥήμασιν, ὅτι καθ' ὃν εἰσηγήσατο νόμον ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄλων αἱ σύμπασαι μυριάδες
 [412] τῶν ἀνθρώπων | μετὰ ἀδικίας ζήσασαι ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄξιοι δικαιοσύνη συμβιοῦντος. τοῦτον Ἑλλήνες μὲν Δευκαλίωνα, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ Νῶε ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

^a Or taking *πρῶς* with *μετοικισαμένῳ* "now for the first time come to settle in the land of virtue."

^b The treatment of Noah here is very brief compared with *De Abr.* 27-46. In particular nothing is said of the point insisted on there as ranking him with the inferior Trinity,

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 20-23

thing that is disorderly, indecorous, discordant, culpable, and to be carried along with the crowd is very detrimental to the virtue^a of the settler on his first arrival. For just as when men are beginning to 21 recover from a long illness their bodies easily give way because their increase of strength is not yet firmly established, so in those whose soul is now for the first time becoming healthy the sinews of the mind are flabby and rickety, so that there is a danger that passion, which is naturally stimulated by association with the thoughtless, may break out afresh.

IV. After the contest won by repentance come a 22 third set of rewards offered for justice.^b He who attains to justice receives two prizes, one his salvation amid the general destruction, the other his appointment to take into his charge and protection the specimens of each kind of living creatures, mated in couples to produce a second creation to make good the annihilation of the first. For the 23 Creator judged it right that the same man should end the condemned and begin the innocent generation, thereby teaching by deeds and not by words those who deny that the world is governed by providence, that, under the law which He established in universal nature, all the myriads of the human race, if they have lived a life of injustice, are not worth a single man who has not departed from justice. This person, in whose day the great deluge took place, is called by the Greeks Deucalion and by the Hebrews Noah.^c

namely, that though just and perfect, he was perfect only "in his generation," *i.e.* as compared with his contemporaries. But the two "rewards" here mentioned are noted there as his rewards (*ibid.* 46).

^c See App. p. 451.

- 24 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τριάδα ταύτην ἑτέρα τριάς ὁσιωτέρα καὶ θεοφιλεστέρα γίνεται μιᾶς συγγενείας· πατὴρ γὰρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ υἰωνὸς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἔσπευσαν τοῦ βίου <τὸ> τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων εὐαρεστῆσαι, καταφρονήσαντες μὲν ὧν θαυμάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, δόξης καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῆς, γελάσαντες δὲ καὶ τῦφον, ὃς ἐκ ψευσμάτων αἰὲ συνυφαίνεται καὶ καταποικίλλεται πρὸς ἀπάτην
- 25 τῶν ὁρώντων. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γόης, ὁ τὰ ἄψυχα θεοπλαστῶν, ὁ μέγας καὶ δυσάλωτος ἐπιτειχισμός, οὗ τοῖς σοφίσμασι καὶ στρατηγήμασι πᾶσα πόλις δελεάζεται προκαταλαμβάνοντος τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς· εἰσοικισάμενος γὰρ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἄχρι γήρως ἐνίδρυται, πλὴν οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς αὐγὴν ἐπιλάμψῃ¹ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀληθεία δὲ τῦφος ἀντίπαλον, ὃς μόλις μὲν ἀλλ' οὖν κραταιοτέρα δυνάμει νικηθεὶς
- 26 ὑπεξίσταται. τουτὶ δὲ τὸ γένος ἀριθμῶ μὲν ἐστὶν ὀλίγον, δυνάμει δὲ πολὺ καὶ μέγιστον, ὥς μηδ' ἅπαντα τὸν τῆς γῆς κύκλον αὐτὸ χωρεῖν δύνασθαι, φθάνειν δ' εἰς οὐρανόν· ἱμέρω γὰρ τοῦ θεωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις αἰὲ συνεῖναι κατεσχημένον ἀλέκτω, τὴν ὁρατὴν ὅταν ἅπασαν φύσιν διερευνήσῃ καὶ διεξέλθῃ, πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ νοητὴν εὐθὺς μέτεισιν, οὐδεμίαν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐπαγόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον μεθιέμενον, τῷ δ' ὁ κέκληται νοῦς καὶ λογισμὸς μόνῳ προσχρῶμενον.
- 27 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμὼν τῆς θεοφιλοῦς δόξης, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τύφου μεθορμισάμενος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, διδακτικῇ χρῆσάμενος ἀρετῇ πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἄθλον αἵρεται

¹ The transitive use of ἐπιλάμπω is quoted elsewhere only as either later or poetical, and the fact that the eighteen examples from Philo noted in the index, including § 37

326

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 24-27

After this Trinity comes another Trinity holier and 24
dearer to God, all belonging to one family. For it
was a Father, a Son, a Grandson who pressed forward
to the same goal of life, namely to be well pleasing to
the Maker and Father of all. All that the multitudes
admire, glory, wealth and pleasure, they despised,
and laughed at vanity, that web woven of lies and
cunningly devised to deceive the beholders. Vanity 25
is the impostor who deifies lifeless objects, the great
and formidable engine of aggression who with its
scheming and trickery beguiles every city and loses
no time in capturing the souls of the young. For it
sets up its abode in them and remains there from
earliest infancy to old age, save in the cases where
God illumines them with a ray of truth—truth the
antagonist of vanity who retreats before it though
slowly and reluctantly vanquished by its superior
power. This ^a kind is few in number but in power so 26
manifold and mighty that it cannot be contained
by the whole compass of the earth but reaches to
Heaven, possessed with an intense longing to contem-
plate and for ever be in the company of things
divine. After investigating the whole realm of the
visible to its very end, it straightway proceeds to the
immaterial and conceptual, not availing itself of any
of the senses but casting aside all the irrational part
of the soul and employing only the part which is
called mind and reasoning. The leader in adopting 27
the godly creed, who first passed over from vanity to
truth, came to his consummation by virtue gained
through instruction, and he received for his reward

^a *i.e.* those who despise vanity.

below, are all intransitive rouses suspicion. Cohn proposes
ἐπιπέμψη.

τὴν πρὸς θεὸν πίστιν· τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως αὐτήκοον καὶ αὐτομαθὴ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν βραβεῖον ἀναδίδεται χαρά· τοῦ δ' ἀσκητοῦ καὶ πόνοις ἀτρύτοις καὶ ἀκαμπέσι¹ περιποιησαμένου τὸ καλὸν ὁ στέφανός ἐστιν ὅρασις θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ πιστεύειν θεῷ καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου χαίρειν καὶ ὁρᾶν αἰεὶ τὸ ὃν τί ἂν ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ σεμνότερον ἐπινοήσῃ τις;

- 28 V. Ἐπαυγασώμεθα δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀκριβέστερον, μὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι παραχθέντες, ἀλλὰ διακύψαντες εἴσω καὶ ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐμβαθύναντες. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ἀψευδῶς πιστεύσας θεῷ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα γενητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ κατείληφεν ἀπιστίαν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μέγα πνεόντων,
 [413] λογισμοῦ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεως· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ ἴδιον | συνέδριον καὶ δικαστήριον προσκεκλήρωται, τῷ μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν νοητῶν ἐπίσκεψιν, οὐ τέλος ἀλήθεια, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁρατῶν, οὐ τέλος δόξα.
 29 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνίδρυτον καὶ πεπλανημένον τῆς δόξης ἐνθένδε δῆλον· εἰκόσι γὰρ καὶ πιθανοῖς ἐφορμεῖ· πᾶσα δὲ εἰκὼν ὁμοιότητι εὐπαραγῶγῳ ψεύδεται τὸ ἀρχέτυπον. ὃ τε ἡγεμὼν αἰσθήσεως λογισμὸς τὰς κρίσεις οἰόμενος ἀνῆφθαι τῶν νοητῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχόντων ἀλίσκεται περὶ πολλὰ κηραίνων· ὅταν γὰρ μυρίοις οὖσι τοῖς κατὰ

¹ Cohn holding that ἀκαμπής is an unsuitable epithet to πόνος would insert a noun such as ἤθεσι. It is not unsuitable, I think, if πόμος is thought of as "toiling" rather than toil. In *De Mig.* 223 it is applied to πόμος παιδείας.

^a For Abraham's faith cf. *De Abr.* 262 ff.

^b Both in form and accent εἰκόσι may be dative of εἰκὼν or

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 27-29

belief in God.^a To him who happily gifted by nature has acquired the virtue which listens to no other than itself, learns from no other, is taught by no other, the prize awarded is joy. The man of practice who by unwearied and unswerving labour has made the excellent his own has for his crown the vision of God. Belief in God, life-long joy, the perpetual vision of the Existent—what can anyone conceive more profitable or more august than these?

V. But let us look into each of them more carefully 28 and not be led away by mere names but with a peering eye explore the inwardness of their full meaning. Now he who has sincerely believed in God has learned to disbelieve in all else, all that is created only to perish, beginning with the forces which so loudly assert themselves in him, reasoning and sense-perception. Each of these has assigned to it a council chamber and tribunal, where they conduct their inspections, one into the conceptual, the other into the visible, one with truth, the other with opinion for its goal. The instability and waywardness of opinion 29 is obvious in that it is based on likelihoods^b and plausibilities, and every likeness by its deceptive resemblance falsifies the original. Reason, sense-perception's master, who thinks itself appointed to judge things conceptual, which ever continue in the same stay, is found to be in sore trouble on many points. For when it comes to grapple with the vast

εἰκός. The evidently intentional connexion with εἰκὼν points to the former, but on the other hand εἰκότα καὶ πιθανά is a frequent collocation with Philo, e.g. στοχασταὶ . . . πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων, *Spec. Leg.* i. 61. I imagine that Philo did not consciously parse it here, but thought of it as coming from both or either. Cohn translating εἰκόσι by "Vermutungen" and εἰκὼν by "Bild" entirely obscures the point.

- μέρος ποιῆται τὰς προσβολάς, ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ ἐξασθενεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύει καθάπερ ἀθλητῆς ὑπὸ
 30 ῥώμης δυνατωτέρας ἐκτραχηλιζόμενος. ὅτῳ δ' ἐξεγένετο πάντα μὲν σώματα πάντα δ' ἀσώματα ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερκύψαι, μόνῳ δ' ἐπερείσασθαι καὶ στηρίσασθαι θεῷ μετ' ἰσχυρογνώμονος λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀκλινοῦς καὶ βεβαιοτάτης πίστεως, εὐδαίμων καὶ τρισμακάριος οὗτος ὡς ἀληθῶς.
- 31 Μετὰ πίστιν προὔκειτο τῷ περιπεποιημένῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ φύσεως ἀκονιτὶ καὶ νικηφορήσαντι χαρὰ τὸ ἄθλον· ὠνομάσθη γάρ, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιεν Ἕλληνες, γέλως, ὡς δὲ Χαλδαῖοι προσονομάζουσιν, Ἰσαάκ· γέλως δὲ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος φανερόν
- 32 ἀφανοῦς τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν χαρᾶς ἐστι. χαρὰν δὲ τῶν εὐπαθειῶν ἀρίστην καὶ καλλίστην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὅφ' ἧς ὅλη δι' ὅλων εὐθυμίας ἢ ψυχῇ καταπίμπλαται, γεγηθυῖα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν συμπάντων θεῷ, γεγηθυῖα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄνευ κακίας δρωμένοις, καὶ μὴ τυγχάνη καθ' ἡδονὴν ὄντα, ὡς καλῶς γινομένοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ
- 33 τῶν ὅλων διαμονῇ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἰατρὸς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις καὶ ἐπισφαλέσι νόσοις ἔστιν ὅτε μέρη σωμάτων ἀφαιρεῖ στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ὑγείας, κυβερνήτης δὲ χειμῶνων ἐπιγινόμενων ἀποφορτίζεται προνοία τῆς τῶν ἐμπλεόντων σωτηρίας, καὶ μέμψις οὔτε τῷ ἱατρῷ τῆς πηρώσεως οὔτε τῷ κυβερνήτῃ τῆς ἀποβολῆς ἔπεται, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἔπαινος ἑκατέρῳ τὸ συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ
- 34 ἡδέος ἰδόντι καὶ κατορθώσαντι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν αἰὲν θαυμαστόν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πραττομένοις ἅπασιν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκουσίου κακίας εὐαρεστητέον ἐξετάζοντας, οὐκ εἰ

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 29-34

number of particular subjects it becomes incapable, grows exhausted and collapses like an athlete flung prostrate by superior power. But he to whom it is 30 given to gaze and soar beyond not only material but all immaterial things, and to take God for his sole stay and support with a reasonableness whose resolution falters not, and a faith unswerving and securely founded, will be a truly happy and thrice blessed man.

After faith comes the reward set aside for the 31 victorious champion who gained his virtue through nature and without a struggle. That reward is joy. For his name was in our speech "laughter" but as the Hebrews call it Isaac. Laughter is the outward and bodily sign of the unseen joy in the mind, and joy is in fact the best and noblest of the higher emotions. By it the soul is filled through and through 32 with cheerfulness, rejoicing in the Father and Maker of all, rejoicing too in all His doings in which evil has no place, even though they do not conduce to its own pleasure, rejoicing because they are done for good and serve to preserve all that exists. A physician 33 treating serious and dangerous diseases sometimes amputates parts of the body, hoping to secure the health of the rest, and the pilot in stormy weather casts cargo overboard to provide for the safety of the passengers. No blame attaches either to the physician for the mutilation or to the pilot for sacrifice of property, but on the contrary both are praised for looking to what is profitable rather than what is pleasant, and for having done the right thing. In the 34 same way we must always reverence all-embracing nature and acquiesce cheerfully in its actions in the universe, free as they are from all intention of evil.

PHILO

- τι μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἰδίαν συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ τρόπον
 εὐνόμου πόλεως ὁ κόσμος ἡνιοχεῖται τε καὶ κυ-
 35 βερνᾶται σωτηρίως. μακάριος οὖν καὶ οὗτος οὐχ
 ἦττον τοῦ προτέρου, συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας
 ἀμέτοχος ὢν, ἄλυπόν τε καὶ ἄφοβον ζῶν καρπού-
 μενος, αὐστηροῦ καὶ αὐχμηροῦ βίου μηδ' ὄναρ
 [414] προσαιψάμενος διὰ τὸ | πάντα τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς
 αὐτοῦ χαρᾷ προκατέχεσθαι.
- 36 VI. Μετὰ τὸν αὐτομαθῆ δὲ καὶ πλουσία χρησά-
 μενον τῇ φύσει τρίτος ὁ ἀσκητῆς τελειοῦται λαμ-
 βάνων γέρας ἐξαίρετον ὄρασιν θεοῦ. πάντων γὰρ
 τῶν παρὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐφαιψάμενος καὶ
 πᾶσιν ἐνομιλήσας οὐ παρέργως καὶ μηδένα πόνον
 ἢ κίνδυνον παρελθὼν, εἴ πως δυνηθείη τὴν ἀξι-
 έραστον ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατῆσαι, παρὰ τῷ θνητῷ
 γένει πολὺν ζόφον ἀνεύρισκε κατὰ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ
 καὶ αέρα καὶ αἰθέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ αἰθέρ καὶ ὁ σύμπας
 οὐρανὸς νυκτὸς αὐτῷ παρέιχε φαντασίαν, ἐπειδὴ
 πᾶσα ἡ αἰσθητὴ φύσις ἀόριστος· τὸ δ' ἀόριστον
 37 ἀδελφὸν σκότους καὶ συγγενές. καταμύσας οὖν
 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αἰῶνα τοῖς
 συνεχέσιν ἄθλοις μόγισ¹ ἤρξατο διοίγνυσθαι καὶ τὴν
 ἐπισκιάσασαν διακρίνειν καὶ ἀποβάλλειν ἀχλύν·
 καθαρωτέρα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀσώματος ἐξαίφνης
 ἐπιλάμψασα αὐγὴ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἀνέφηνεν

¹ So mss. Cohn corrects to μόλις. I do not know why, unless through observation of Philo's usage. μόγισ="with difficulty," often associated with βραδέως, etc., is a very suitable word here. See Lexicon.

^a I understand this sentence to mean that *prima facie* ether and heaven are of a higher nature than earth, air, and water. Still, since they also belong to αἰσθητὴ φύσις, they

332

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 34-37

For the question before us is not whether the events are pleasant to us personally but whether the chariot and ship of the universe is guided in safety like a well-ordered state. So he too is blessed no less than 35 the first named. He never knows gloom and depression ; his days are passed in happy freedom from fears and grief ; the hardships and squalor of life never touch him even in his dreams, because every spot in his soul is already tenanted by joy.

VI. After the self-taught, the man enriched by his 36 natural gifts, the third to reach perfection is the Man of Practice who receives for his special reward the vision of God. For having been in touch with every side of human life and in no half-hearted familiarity with them all, and having shirked no toil or danger if thereby he might descry the truth, a quest well worthy of such love, he found mortal kind set in deep darkness spread over earth and water and the lower air and ether too. For ether and the whole Heaven wore to his eyes the semblance of night, since the whole realm of sense is without defining bounds, and the indefinite is close akin, even brother, to darkness.^a In his former years the eyes of his soul had been 37 closed, but by means of continuous striving he began though slowly to open them and to break up and throw off the mist which overshadowed him. For a beam purer than ether^b and incorporeal suddenly shone upon him and revealed the conceptual world

share the indefiniteness and darkness which is only removed by νοητά, which as he says of the "ideas," *Spec. Leg.* i. 48, "give order to the disordered, definiteness to the indefinite, bounds to the boundless, shape to the shapeless." See on § 46 (App. p. 452).

^b In face of what has just been said of ether, Cohn must surely be wrong in translating "a purer beam of ether."

- 38 ἡνιοχούμενον. ὁ δ' ἡνίοχος ἀκράτῳ φέγγει περι-
λαμπόμενος ἐν κύκλῳ δυσόρατος καὶ δυστόπαστος
ἦν, ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τῆς ὀψεως ἀμυδρουμένης· ἡ
δέ, καίτοι πολλοῦ ῥέοντος εἰς αὐτὴν πυρός, ἀντεῖχεν
39 ἔρωτι ἐκτόπῳ τοῦ θεάσασθαι. γνήσιον δὲ ἕμερον
καὶ πόθον ἰδὼν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ σωτὴρ ἠλέησε καὶ
κράτος δοὺς τῇ τῆς ὀψεως προσβολῇ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
θέας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν χωρῆσαι
γενητὴν καὶ θνητὴν φύσιν, οὐχὶ τῆς ὃ ἐστὶν ἐμ-
40 φαινούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὅτι ἔστιν. ἐκείνο μὲν γάρ,
ὃ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρεῖττον καὶ μονάδος πρεσβύτερον
καὶ ἐνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον, ἀμήχανον ὑφ' ἑτέρου
θεωρεῖσθαι τινος, διότι μόνῳ θέμις αὐτῷ ὑφ'
ἑαυτοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

- VII. Τὸ δ' ὅτι ἔστιν, ὑπάρξεως ὀνόματι¹ κατα-
ληπτὸν ὄν, ἢ οὐ πάντες ἢ οὐχ ὁδῶ τῇ βελτίονι
καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς ἀπεφάναντο
μηδ' ὅλως εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, οἱ δὲ ἐνεδοίασαν ἐπαμφο-
τερίσαντες ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἔστιν εἴτε
μή, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔθει μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ τὰς περὶ
ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ κομίσαντες ἐννοίας παρὰ τῶν
τρεφόντων ἔδοξαν εὐστόχως εὐσεβεῖν δεισιδαιμονία
41 τὴν εὐσέβειαν χαράζαντες. εἰ δέ τινες καὶ δι'
ἐπιστήμης ἰσχυσαν φαντασιωθῆναι τὸν ποιητὴν

¹ So all mss. except A, which has ὄνομα, which is accepted by Cohn. His translation "the only comprehensible idea (or conception, Begriff) of His subsistence" I cannot fit into the Greek, or indeed give any meaning to ὄνομα.

^a Cohn translates "resisted the longing," but is this sense? Cf. *Spec. Leg.* i. 37, 38, of the same subject, "the soul's eye is dazzled by the flashing of the rays. Yet it does not therefore faintheartedly give up the task."

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 38-41

ruled by its charioteer. That charioteer, ringed as he 38
was with beams of undiluted light, was beyond his
sight or conjecture, for the eye was darkened by the
dazzling beams. Yet in spite of the fiery stream
which flooded it, his sight held its own in its unutter-
able longing to behold the vision.^a The Father and 39
Saviour perceiving the sincerity of his yearning in pity
gave power to the penetration of his eyesight and
did not grudge to grant him the vision of Himself
in so far as it was possible for mortal and created
nature to contain it. Yet the vision only showed
that He is, not what He is. For this which is better 40
than the good, more venerable than the monad,
purer than the unit, cannot be discerned by anyone
else ; to God alone is it permitted to apprehend
God.

VII. Now the fact that He is, which can be appre-
hended under the name of His subsistence, is not
apprehended by all or at any rate not in the best
way. Some distinctly deny that there is such a thing
as the Godhead. Others hesitate and fluctuate as
though unable to state whether there is or not.
Others whose notions about the subsistence of God
are derived through habit rather than thinking from
those who brought them up, believe themselves to
have successfully attained to religion yet have left
on it the imprint of superstition.^b Others again who 41
have had the strength through knowledge to envisage

^b For the argument in these two sections *cf. Spec. Leg.*
i. 33 ff., and note giving reference to other authors, vol. vii.
p. 616. The statement of it given in *Leg. All.* iii. 97-99
resembles this still more closely, as those who gain the know-
ledge of God from creation are compared as here with those
who have a higher inspiration, though the example there is
Moses, not Jacob.

καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο
 κάτωθεν ἄνω προῆλθον. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς εὖνομον
 πόλιν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον παρελθόντες καὶ θεασάμενοι
 γῆν μὲν ἐστῶσαν¹ ὀρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, σπαρτῶν
 καὶ δένδρων καὶ καρπῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ παντοίων ζώων
 [415] | ἀνάπλεων, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἀνακεχυμένα πελάγη καὶ
 λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς τε καὶ χειμάρρους,
 καὶ αἴρος καὶ πνευμάτων εὐκρασίας, καὶ τῶν
 ἐτησίων ὥρων τὰς ἐναρμονίους μεταβολάς, καὶ
 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην πλάνητάς τε καὶ
 ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν ἐν
 τάξεσι μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας στρατιᾶς ἡρμοσμένον,
 42 κόσμον ἀληθινὸν ἐν κόσμῳ περιπολοῦντα, θαυ-
 μάσαντες καὶ καταπλαγέντες εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθον
 ἀκόλουθον τοῖς φανείσιν, ὅτι ἄρα τοσαῦτα κάλλη
 καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβάλλουσα τάξις οὐκ ἀπαυτομα-
 τισθέντα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος δημιουργοῦ
 κοσμοποιοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πρόνοιαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι·
 νόμος γὰρ φύσεως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸ πεποιηκὸς τοῦ
 43 γεγονότος. ἀλλ' οὗτοί γε οἱ θεσπέσιοι
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διενηνοχότες, ὅπερ ἔφην, κάτωθεν
 ἄνω προῆλθον οἷα διὰ τινος οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος,
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχασάμενοι τὸν
 δημιουργόν. εἰ δέ τινες ἐδυνήθησαν αὐτὸν ἐξ
 ἑαυτοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἐτέρῳ μηδενὶ χρησάμενοι λο-
 γισμῷ συνεργῶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν, ἐν ὁσίοις καὶ
 γνησίοις θεραπευταῖς καὶ θεοφιλέσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς
 44 ἀναγραφέντων. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ Χαλδαῖστί μὲν

¹ So mss. Cohn following Mangey ἀρετῶσαν. But cf. *De Cher.* 26 (of earth) ἡ δὲ μόνῃ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐστῶσα

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 41-44

the Maker and Ruler of all have in the common phrase advanced from down to up. Entering the world as into a well-ordered city they have beheld the earth standing fast, highland and lowland full of sown crops and trees and fruits and all kinds of living creatures to boot ; also spread over its surface, seas and lakes and rivers both spring fed and winter torrents. They have seen too the air and breezes so happily tempered, the yearly seasons changing in harmonious order, and over all the sun and moon, planets and fixed stars, the whole heaven and heaven's host, line upon line, a true universe in itself revolving within the universe. Struck with admiration and 42 astonishment they arrived at a conception according with what they beheld, that surely all these beauties and this transcendent order has not come into being automatically but by the handiwork of an architect and world maker ; also that there must be a providence, for it is a law of nature that a maker should take care of what has been made. These 43

no doubt are truly admirable persons and superior to the other classes. They have as I said advanced from down to up by a sort of heavenly ladder and by reason and reflection^a happily inferred the Creator from His works. But those, if such there be, who have had the power to apprehend Him through Himself without the co-operation of any reasoning process to lead them to the sight, must be recorded as holy and genuine worshippers and friends of God in very truth. In their company is he who in the Hebrew is 44

^a Lit. "by a probable (or reasonable) calculation," cf. *De Dec.* 40 εἰκότι μάλλον δ' ἀληθεῖ λογισμῷ.

παγίως ἐστία πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ὠνόμασται. Here it is quite to the point as an antithesis to περιπολοῦντα οὐρανόν.

- προσαγορευόμενος Ἰσραήλ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ὀρώων
 θεόν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ὁ θεός—τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμύχανον,
 ὡς ἔφην—, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔστιν, οὐ παρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς
 μαθών, οὐχὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐχὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν,
 οὐχὶ τῶν ὅσα στοιχεῖα ἢ συγκρίματα θνητά τε
 αὐ καὶ ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνου μετα-
 κληθεὶς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπαρξίν ἀναφῆναι θελήσαντος
 45 ἰκέτη. πῶς δ' ἡ προσβολὴ γέγονεν, ἄξιον διὰ
 τινος εἰκόνοιο ἰδεῖν. τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον ἥλιον μὴ
 ἑτέρῳ τινὶ θεωροῦμεν ἢ ἡλίῳ; τὰ δὲ ἄστρα μὴ
 τισιν ἄλλοις ἢ ἀστροῖς θεωροῦμεν; καὶ συνόλως
 τὸ φῶς ἂρ' οὐ φωτὶ βλέπεται; τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ
 τρόπον καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ φέγγος ὦν δι' αὐτοῦ
 μόνου θεωρεῖται, μηδενοῦ ἄλλου συνεργούντος ἢ
 δυναμένου συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὴν εἰλικρινῆ κατάληψιν
 46 τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ. στοχασταὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ
 τῶν γεγονότων τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ γεννητὴν τῶν ὄλων
 σπεύδοντες θεωρεῖν, ὁμοίον τι δρῶντες τοῖς ἀπὸ
 δυνάδος μονάδος φύσιν ἐρευνῶσι, δέον ἔμπαλιν ἀπὸ
 μονάδος—ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὕτη—δυνάδα σκοπεῖν· ἀλήθειαν
 δὲ μετίασιν οἱ τὸν θεὸν θεῶ φαντασιωθέντες,
 47 φωτὶ φῶς. VIII. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον
 ἄθλον εἶρηται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λαμβάνει βραβεῖον
 ὁ ἀσκητῆς λεχθῆναι μὲν οὐκ εὐφημον, νοηθῆναι δὲ
 ἄριστον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ τὸ βραβεῖον πλάτους νάρκη

^a Or very possibly (as Cohn) "having had his name changed" (from Jacob to Israel), referring of course to Gen. xxxii. 28 "thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel," cf. *De Mut.* 81. But see App. p. 452.

^b I understand *ιδίαν*, which Cohn ignores, to mean that His existence is to be distinguished from all other existences, and to give something of the sense in which we speak of a personal God.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 44-47

called Israel but in our tongue the God-seer who sees not His real nature, for that, as I said, is impossible—but that He is. And this knowledge he has gained not from any other source, not from things on earth or things in Heaven, not from the elements or combinations of elements mortal or immortal, but at the summons^a of Him alone who has willed to reveal His existence as a person^b to the suppliant. How this 45 access has been obtained may be well seen through an illustration. Do we behold the sun which sense perceives by any other thing than the sun, or the stars by any others than the stars, and in general is not light seen by light? In the same way God too is His own brightness and is discerned through Himself alone, without anything co-operating or being able to co-operate in giving a perfect apprehension of His existence. They then do but make a happy 46 guess, who are at pains to discern the Uncreated, and Creator of all from His creation, and are on the same footing as those who try to trace the nature of the monad from the dyad, whereas observation of the dyad should begin with the monad which is the starting-point.^c The seekers for truth are those who envisage God through God, light through light.

VIII. So much for his chief reward. 47 But besides all this the Practiser receives a prize with an ill-sounding name but excellent when we consider its meaning.^d This prize is symbolically

^c Cf. *De Som.* ii. 70, where the monad is equated to the maker and the dyad to the thing made. See App. p. 452.

^d Gen. xxxii. 25. Cf. *De Som.* i. 130, where the same phrase "ill-sounding name" is used and the same interpretation given. For the LXX "the broad part of the thigh was numbed" the R.V. has "the hollow of his thigh was strained" (A.V. "out of joint").

- [416] συμβολικῶς· ἀλαζονεία μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπεροψία | διὰ τοῦ πλάτους ἐμφαίνεται, χεομένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἄμετρον ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ δεῖ χύσιν, διὰ δὲ τῆς νάρκης μετεώρου καὶ πεφυσημένου πράγματος, οἰήσεως, 48 συστολή. σύμφορον δὲ οὐδὲν οὕτως ὥς τὸ κεχαλασμένον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῶν ὁρμῶν ἀνακοπήναί τε καὶ ναρκῆσαι παρεθὲν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς τόνους, ἢ ἡ τῶν παθῶν ἄμετρος ἰσχύς ἐξασθενήσασα πλάτος ἐμπαράσχη ψυχῆς τῷ βελτίονι μέρει.
- 49 Προσεξεταστέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἰκειότατον ἐκάστω τῶν τριῶν ἀπενεμήθη τὸ αἶθλον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ διδασκαλίας τελειωθέντι πίστις, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μανθάνοντα πιστεῦσαι δεῖ τῷ διδάσκοντι περὶ ὧν ὑφηγεῖται· δύσκολον γάρ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατον 50 ἀπιστοῦντα παιδεύεσθαι. τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως ἐπ' ἀρετὴν φθάσαντι χαρά· χαρτὸν γὰρ ἡ εὐφυΐα καὶ τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, τῆς διανοίας εὐθιξίαις καὶ εὐσκόποις ἐπιβολαῖς προσγανουμένης, ἐν αἷς ἀπόνως εὐρίσκει τὰ ζητούμενα, καθάπερ ὑποβολέως ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχοῦντος· ἡ γὰρ σύντομος τῶν ἀπορου- 51 μένων εὐρεσις χαρτόν. τῷ δὲ δι' ἀσκήσεως περιποιησαμένῳ φρόνησιν ὄρασις· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν νεότητι πρακτικὸν βίον ὁ ἐν γήρα θεωρητικὸς βίος ἄριστος καὶ ἱερώτατος, ὃν οἷα κυβερνήτην παραπέμψας ἐπὶ πρύμναν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισε τοὺς οἴακας ὥς ἱκανῶ πηδαλιουχεῖν τὰ ἐπίγεια· χωρὶς γὰρ

^a Or more accurately "currents of spirit force." Cf. *Quis Rerum* 242, where the πνευματικοὶ τόνοι are the ligaments which keep bodies in cohesion. See note there for some references, to which add *De Aet.* 125, where hard stones are said to decompose when their ἔξις or cohesion weakens, "ἔξις being a πνευματικὸς τόνος which though hard to loosen is not unbreakable." Cohn gives for it here "geistige Spann-

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 47-51

called the "numbing of the broad part." By the "broad part" arrogance and pride are suggested, since the soul spreads itself inordinately in the wrong direction; by "numbing," the contraction of the conceit which lifts itself on high and puffs itself out. And nothing is so profitable as that the laxity 48 and free play of the appetites should be hampered and numbed with their vitalizing forces ^a paralysed so that the inordinate strength of the passions may be exhausted and thus provide a breadth in which the better part of the soul may expand.

A further question for consideration is the special 49 suitability of the reward assigned to each of the three. Faith for him who was perfected through teaching, since the learner must believe the instructions of his teacher: to educate a disbeliever is difficult or rather impossible. Joy for him who through the happiness 50 of his natural endowments arrives at virtue. For good abilities and natural gifts are a matter for rejoicing. The mind exults in the facility of its apprehension and the felicity of the processes ^b by which it discovers what it seeks without labour, as though dictated by an inward prompter. For to find the solution of difficulties quickly must bring joy. Vision for him who attains wisdom through practice. 51 For after the active life of youth the contemplative life of old age is the best and most sacred—, that life which God sends to the stern like a helmsman and entrusts the rudder into its hands as well fitted to steer the course of earthly things. For without con-

kraft," Mangey "animi spiritus." As stated in the note to *Quis Rerum* 242, πνεῦμα, τόπος and ἔξις are almost convertible terms. But the application of them here to moral or spiritual life is unusual.

^b Or "applications."

θεωρίας ἐπιστημονικῆς οὐδὲν τῶν πραττομένων καλόν.

- 52 IX. Ἐνὸς ἔτι μνησθεὶς ἀνδρός, στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν λόγων τρέψομαι. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξῆς στεφανωθεὶς ἐκηρύχθη· λέγω δὲ ἱεροὺς οὐ τοὺς παρὰ πολλοῖς νομιζομένους—ἀνῆροι γὰρ οὗτοί γε βίαις καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀδικίαις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω τιμωριῶν γέρα καὶ τιμὰς προτείνοντες—, ἀλλ' οὓς ἡ ψυχὴ πέφυκε διαθλεῖν, φρονήσει μὲν ἡλιθιότητα καὶ πανουργίαν ἐλαύνουσα, σωφροσύνη δὲ ἀσωτίαν καὶ φειδωλίαν, ἀνδρεία δὲ θρασύτητα καὶ δειλίαν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς τὰς ἀντιθέτους κακίας, αἱ μὴτ' ἑαυταῖς μὴτε ἄλλαις συμφέρονται.¹
- 53 πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀρεταὶ παρθένοι, καλλιστεύει δὲ ὡς ἐν χορῷ παραλαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡ εὐσέβεια, ἣν ἐκληρώσατο διαφερόντως ὁ θεολόγος Μωυσῆς, δι' ἣν μετὰ μυρίων ἄλλων, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς γραφεῖσι περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου μεμνήνται, τεττάρων ἄθλων ἐξαιρέτων τυγχάνει, [τυχῶν] βασιλείας, νομοθεσίας, προφητείας, ἀρχιερωσύνης.
- 54 βασιλεὺς τε γὰρ γέγονεν, οὐκ ἔθει τῷ καθεστῶτι
[417] μετὰ | στρατιᾶς τε καὶ ὀπλων ναυτικῆς τε καὶ πεζικῆς καὶ ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ

¹ So mss. Cohn reads *συμφέρονσι* and translates (ignoring the feminine of *ἄλλαις*) "are of no use either to themselves or to others." So too Mangey "neque sibi ipsis neque aliis prosunt." I see little or no point in the remark. On the other hand οὐ συμφέρονται = "do not agree with" gives an excellent sense. Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 88, where *δειλία* and *θράσος* are called antagonistic (*μαχόμενα*) passions. The battle of the virtues against the vices is assisted by the disunion of the latter.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 51-54

templation and the knowledge which it gives no activity attains excellence.^a

IX. One other man I will mention and then, as I 52 wish to avoid prolixity, proceed to the next part of the subject. This man is he who in the sacred contests one after the other was proclaimed the winner of the crown. By sacred contests I do not mean those which men regard as such^b; they are unholy since they offer instead of the utmost penalties honours and crowns to violence, outrage and injustice. I mean those which the soul has to fight out, wielding successfully wisdom against folly and knavery, moderation against profligacy and miserliness, courage against rashness and cowardice, and the other virtues against the opposite^c vices which are at variance with one another^d and with other vices too. Now all 53 the virtues are virgins, but the fairest among them all, the acknowledged queen of the dance, is piety, which Moses, the teacher of divine lore, in a special degree had for his own, and through it gained among a multitude of other gifts, which have been described in the treatises dealing with his life, four special rewards, the offices of king, legislator, prophet and high priest.^e For he did not become king in the ordinary 54 way by the aid of troops and weapons or of the might of ships and infantry and cavalry. It was God who

^a On §§ 49-51 see App. p. 453.

^b For this often repeated remark about the "sacred" games cf. *e.g.* *De Agr.* 113.

^c *i.e.* opposite to the virtues, but perhaps better "antithetical" "opposed to each other," as the three pairs of vices all fall under this head.

^d Or "to themselves," but *ἐαυτ-* is often used reciprocally, and this best suits the sense, as I understand it. See note 1.

^e Cf. *Mos.* ii. 3, where the scheme here summarized, on which the whole book is based, is laid down.

χειροτονηθεῖς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ὃς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνειργάσατο τὴν ἐκούσιον αἵρεσιν. ἄναυδος γὰρ καὶ ἀκτῆμων καὶ ἀχρήματος μόνος οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν ἀνεγράφη, πρὸ τοῦ τυφλοῦ τὸν βλέποντα πλοῦτον ἀσπασάμενος καί, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, τὸν θεοῦ κλῆρον ἰδίαν
 55 οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς γίνεται καὶ νομοθέτης· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα προστάττειν καὶ ἀπαγορεύειν· νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἕτερον ἢ λόγος προστάττων ἃ χρὴ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἃ μὴ χρὴ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἄδηλον τὸ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ συμφέρον—ἀγνοία γὰρ πολλάκις κελεύομεν ἃ μὴ δεῖ καὶ ἀπαγορεύομεν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν—, οἰκείον ἦν τρίτον λαβεῖν, προφητείαν, εἰς τὸ ἄπταιστον,—ἐρμηνεὺς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχοῦντος τὰ λεκτέα τοῦ θεοῦ,
 56 παρὰ θεῷ δ' οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον,¹—τέταρτον δ' ἀρχιερωσύνην, δι' ἧς προφητεύων ἐπιστημονικῶς θεραπεύσει τὸ ὄν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθούντων μὲν εὐχαριστίας, εἰ δὲ διαμαρτάνοιεν, εὐχὰς καὶ ἱκεσίας ἱλασκόμενος ποιήσεται. ταῦτα μᾶς ὄντα ἰδέας ἀλληλουχεῖν ὀφείλει τοῖς ἀρμονίας δεσμοῖς ἐνωθέντα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν

¹ Cohn puts a full stop after ὑπαίτιον. But the accusative ἀρχιερωσύνην shows that the construction after οἰκείον ἦν λαβεῖν is continued and ἐρμηνεὺς . . . ὑπαίτιον is parenthetical.

^a The thought seems to be as in *Spec. Ileg.* iv. 157, that the divine election is somehow compatible with free choice by the people.

^b Cf. Ex. iv. 10. Moses says "I am a stammerer (?) (*ισχνόφωγος*) and slow of tongue."

^c The translation assumes that κλῆρον θεοῦ alludes to "the

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 54-56

appointed him by the free judgement of his subjects, God who created in them the willingness to choose him as their sovereign.^a Of him alone we read that without the gifts of speech^b or possessions or money he was made a king, he who eschewed the blind wealth and embraced that which has eyes to see, and, as we may say without reserve, held that all he owned was to have God for his heritage.^c This same person was 55 also a lawgiver. For a king must enjoin and forbid and a law is nothing else but a pronouncement enjoining what ought to be done and forbidding what ought not.^d But in both cases there is uncertainty as to what is profitable, since through ignorance we often enjoin what should not be done and forbid what should be done, and therefore it was meet that he should receive a third gift of prophecy to keep his feet from stumbling. For the prophet is the interpreter of God who prompts from within what he should say, and with God nothing is in fault. Meet 56 also^e that he should have the fourth office of chief priesthood to enable him armed with prophetic knowledge to worship the Self-existent, and offer up thanksgivings for his subjects when they do well and prayers and supplications for propitiation when they do amiss. All these are one in kind; they should co-exist united with bonds of harmony and be found

Lord is thy portion," addressed to Levi. But the phrase is very strange. Possibly "the portion which God gave him," but this again is strange as well as feeble. Mangey's "quidquid deus possidet" seems to me even less satisfactory, while Cohn's "das Erbe Gottes" tells us nothing. I understand τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν to mean "his personal possessions."

^a On the definition of νόμος see App. p. 454.

^e The construction with οἰκεῖον ἦν λαβεῖν continues, see note 1.

ἐξετάζεσθαι, ὡς ὁ γέ τινος τῶν τεττάρων ὑστερίζων ἀτελής εἰς ἡγεμονίαν, χωλὴν ἀνημμένος κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν.

- 57 X. "Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα τιθεμένων ἄθλων· τίθεται δὲ καὶ ὅλοις οἴκοις καὶ πολυανθρώποις συγγενείαις. αὐτίκα τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς διανεμηθέντος ἰσάριθμοι ταῖς φυλαῖς εἰσιν ἡγεμόνες, οὐ μόνον μιᾶς οἰκίας ἢ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνησιωτέρας οἰκειότητος· ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ ὁμοπάτριοι πάντες· ὁ δὲ τούτων πάππος καὶ πρόπαππος σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γεγόνασιν ἀρχηγέται τοῦ
- 58 ἔθνους. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τύφου μεταθέμενος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι Χαλδαϊκῆς τερθρείας ὑπεριδὼν ἔνεκα τελειότερας ὄψεως, ἣν θεασάμενος ἐλχθεῖς¹ ἠκολούθησε τῇ φαντασίᾳ, καθάπερ τὸν σίδηρόν φασιν ὑπὸ λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος ἔλκεσθαι, ἀντὶ σοφιστοῦ γενόμενος ἐκ διδασκαλίας σοφός, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔσχε παῖδας, ἅπαντας δὲ πλὴν ἑνὸς ὑπαιτίους, ᾧ² τὰ πείσματα τοῦ γένους
- 59 ἐκδησάμενος ἀσφαλῶς ἐνωρμίσατο. τῷ δ' υἱῷ πάλιν αὐτομαθῇ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον κτησαμένῳ φύσιν δύο συνέβη παῖδας γενέσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἄγριον καὶ ἀτίθασον, θυμοῦ γέμοντα καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ συνόλως τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον μέρος ἐπιτετειχικότα

¹ mss. θελχθεῖς.

² So A. The other mss. have *ὅς*, which Cohn follows. The dative seems to me better sense. We do not come to Isaac's history till the next sentence. The point is that Abraham's family would have failed but for this one son. We might perhaps have expected *οὗ* after *ἐκδησάμενος*, but the dative can depend on *ἐνωρμίσατο*.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 56-59

embodied in the same person, since he who falls short in any of the four is imperfectly equipped for government and the administration of public affairs which he has undertaken will limp and halt.

X. ^a This may suffice for the rewards set before ⁵⁷ individual men, but houses and families of many members have theirs also. For instance the twelve tribes into which the nation was divided had the same number of chieftains connected not only by membership of the same house and family but by a still more real affinity, for they were brothers with the same father, and their grandfather and great-grandfather as well as their father were the founders of the nation. The first of these who passed from vanity to truth, ⁵⁸ who spurned the impostures of Chaldean astrology ^b for the sake of the fuller spectacle which he beheld and followed the vision, drawn to it as iron is said to be drawn by the magnet, thus changed by instruction from sophist to sage, had many children, but all faulty ^c save one to whom he bound fast the cables of the race and there found a safe haven. That son ⁵⁹ again endued with a nature which learned from no other teacher than itself had two sons. One was wild and indocile, brimful of fierce temper and lust, who to sum him up armed the unreasoning part of the soul

^a The gist of the next four sections is that the reward to families as families only applies to Jacob's children. Neither Abraham's nor Isaac's, both of which contained degenerate members, qualified for it.

^b This perhaps rather than, as Cohn, "science," as in *De Virt.* 212, where see note. Compare also the Latin use of "mathematicus" = astrologer, Juv. xiv. 248, and elsewhere.

^c See Gen. xxv. 6 "Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac his son, but to the sons of his concubines he gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son." Cf. *De Mig.* 94.

τῷ λογικῷ, τὸν δ' ἡμερον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, καλο-
 [418] ἀγαθίας | ἐραστήν¹ ἰσότητός τε καὶ αὐτοφίας, ἐν
 βελτίονι τεταγμένον τάξει, λογισμοῦ προαγωνιστήν,
 60 ἀφροσύνης ἀντίπαλον· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρίτος τῶν
 ἀρχηγῶν, ὁ πολύπαις τε καὶ μόνος εὐτεκνος,
 ἀσυνῆς ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς οἰκίας, οἷά τις
 γεωργὸς εὐδαίμων ἅπασαν τὴν σπορὰν ἐπιδὼν
 σῶον ἡμερόν τε καὶ καρποφόρον.

61 XI. Ἐχει δ' ἕκαστος τῶν τριῶν τὴν ῥήτην διή-
 γησιν² σύμβολον διανοίας ἀφανοῦς, ἣν ἐπισκεπτέον.
 αὐτίκα παντὶ τῷ διδασκομένῳ συμβαίνει μετιόντι
 πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ἀπολιπεῖν ἀμαθίαν· ἀμαθία δὲ πολύ-
 χουν. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πρῶτος λέγεται πολύπαις μὲν,
 οὐδένα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιώσας υἷὸν αὐτοῦ χρημα-
 τίζειν πλὴν ἑνός· τρόπον γάρ τινα καὶ ὁ μανθάνων
 ἀποκηρύττει τὰ τῆς ἀμαθίας ἔκγονα καὶ ὥς ἐχθρὰ
 62 καὶ δυσμενῇ παραιτεῖται. φύσει γε μὴν πάντες οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι, πρὶν τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγον,
 κείμεθα ἐν μεθορίῳ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς μη-
 δέτερά πω ταλαντεύοντες· ἐπειδὴν δὲ πτερυξάμενος

¹ mss. ἐργάτην.

² Cohn supposes that some words have fallen out between διήγησιν and σύμβολον such as ταύτην· ἔστι δὲ καὶ. But "each has the literal history as a symbol" for "has in its literal history a symbol" is perhaps not impossible Greek.

^a Or perhaps simply "belonging to the better class." But προαγωνιστήν suggests a military metaphor. Cf. *De Virt.* 127.

^b For the use of ἡμερος see App. p. 454.

^c The allegory of §§ 61-65, which is only concerned with the

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 59-62

to war against the rational. The other was gentle and kindly, a lover of noble conduct, of equality and simplicity, a soldier of the better cause,^a the champion of reason and antagonist of folly. This is the third 60 of the founders, father of many children and alone among the three blessed in them all, who met with no mishap in any part of his household, like a happy husbandman who sees his whole crop safe and sound, thriving under his hand^b and bearing fruit.

XI. In each of the three the literal story is sym- 61 bolical of a hidden meaning which demands examination.^c Thus everyone who is taught, when he passes over to knowledge, must abandon ignorance. Ignorance is multiform and therefore it is said of the first of the three that he was the father of many children but did not deem any of them worthy to be called his sons save one. For the learner may also be said to disown the offspring of ignorance and discard them, seeing their hostility and ill will. Again naturally all 62 we men, before the reason in us is fully grown, lie in the borderline between vice and virtue with no bias to either side. But when the mind is fully fledged

“children,” that is with the different lines of conduct shown by the three types of souls, is difficult in parts, but the general gist is as follows:

(a) The soul susceptible to teaching is under many ignorant illusions, but ultimately discards them for knowledge.

(β) The naturally-gifted soul does not at once develop its instinctive love of good, but only when it reaches maturity. But there comes a stage when its instinctive love of happiness asserts itself. Till then its “Esau” and “Jacob” are treated with impartiality. There is a certain likeness to *De Sac.* 15-16 and *Quis Rerum* 294-299. Philo did not expect much positive virtue in early life.

(γ) The soul which consolidates its natural gifts and instruction by exercise produces all the virtues.

ὁ νοῦς ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς τῶν μερῶν
 φαντασιωθῇ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἄφετος πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ
 πτηνὸς ὁρμᾷ τὸ συγγεγεννημένον ἀδελφὸν κακὸν
 ὀπίσω καταλιπών, ὃ καὶ ἀποφεύγει τὴν ἐναντίαν
 63 ὁδὸν ἀμεταστρεπτί. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ αἰνίττεται
 φάσκων υἱοὺς δύο γεγενῆσθαι διδύμους τῷ φύσεως
 εὐμοίρου λαχόντι· παντὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου κατ'
 ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῇ γενέσει κυοφορεῖ δίδυμα ἢ ψυχὴ,
 κακόν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἐκάτερον φαντασιου-
 μένη· μακαρίας δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονος ὅταν τύχῃ
 μερίδος, ὀλκῇ μιᾷ ῥέπει πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, μήτ' ἐπὶ
 θάτερά ποτε ταλαντεύσασα μήτ' ἐπαμφοτερίσασα
 64 πρὸς τὸ ἰσόρροπον. ἢ δ' ἀγαθῆς μὲν φύσεως
 ἀγαθῆς δὲ καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα κακ τρίτου
 συνασκηθεῖσα τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς θεωρήμασιν, ὡς
 μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς πλαδᾶν,¹ ἔγκολλα δ' εἶναι
 καὶ ἐντετυπωμένα τὰ πάντα καθάπερ νεύροις τισὶν
 ἐνωθέντα, κτᾶται μὲν ὑγείαν, κτᾶται δὲ δύναμιν,
 οἷς εὐχροια μὲν ἐξ αἰδοῦς, εὐεξία δὲ καὶ κάλλος
 65 ἐπιγίνεται. γενομένη δὲ πλήρωμα ἀρετῶν ἥδε ἢ
 ψυχὴ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ἀρίστων, φύσεως καὶ μαθήσεως
 καὶ ἀσκήσεως, οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καταλιποῦσα κενὸν
 εἰς πάροδον ἄλλων, γεννᾷ τέλειον ἀριθμόν, διττὰς
 υἱῶν ἐξάδας, ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ

¹ MSS. ἐπιπλαδᾶν.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 62-65

when it has seen and absorbed into every part of its vitality the vision of the good, it ranges freely and wings its way to reach that vision and leaves behind good's brother and birth-fellow evil, which also flies away straight on in the opposite direction.^a This is 63 what underlies his saying that the possessor of a highly gifted nature was the father of twins. For the soul of every man from the first as soon as he is born bears in its womb the twins good and evil as I have said and has the vision of both before him, but, when it comes to have happiness and bliss for its lot, it inclines uniformly to the good, never swaying in the other direction nor oscillating into equilibrium between the two. Once more if the soul has received a 64 good nature, good instruction and thirdly therewith exercise in the principles of virtue, none of them fluid and superficial, but all cemented within it, firmly impressed and strung as it were into a unity, it wins health, wins power, and to these are added the fine hue of modesty and a robust and comely form.^b This soul through the triple excellence of 65 nature, learning and practice becomes the plenitude of virtues, leaving no empty room within itself where other things can enter, and it engenders sons twice six in number, the perfect number, the copy and likeness of the zodiac cycle, a source of increased

^a The last words are obscure. As the good is stationary, why should the evil fly away? It would be possible to take ὁ as accusative after ἀποφεύγει, i.e. the mind in flying to the good is necessarily flying from evil, but no intelligible sense can be given to τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδόν.

^b Possibly he means that such health of soul leads to bodily health, or that its spiritual qualities are analogous to such bodily gifts. I do not understand the point of the "fine complexion from modesty."

- κύκλου, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐνταῦθα βελτίωσιν. ¹ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀσινὴς οἶκος, ὁ τέλειος καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν ταῖς ῥηταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἀλληγορίαις, ὃς ἔλαβεν ἄθλον, καθάπερ εἶπον, ἡγεμονίαν
 [419] 66 τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους | φυλῶν. ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου χρό-
 νοις εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδόντος εὖνομοι πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν, διδασκαλεία² φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁσιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μεταποιήσις μεγαλοπρεπῶς διερευνᾶται.
- 67 XII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπονεμηθέντα πάλαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλα κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ λέλεκται τυπωδέ-
 στερον, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα δύναιτ' ἂν τις εὐμαρέστατα³ συνορᾶν. ἐξῆς δὲ τὰς προτεθείσας τοῖς πονηροῖς κολάσεις [ἐν μέρει] πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον γενικώτερον, ἐπεὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφειν οὐ
 68 καιρός. ἐγένετό τις κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθύς, ὅτ' οὐπω τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπλήθυνεν, ἀδελφοκτόνος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐναγής, ὁ πρῶτος καθαρευ-

¹ Here I think the section, which Cohn places at ἐκ τοῦδε, should begin. See note *a*.

² MSS. διδασκαλία (-αι or -as).

³ MSS. εὐμαρέστερον.

^a *i.e.* the soul here described brings blessings or has influence for good on the world around it, as the Zodiac, the greatest of the heavenly bodies (*Spec. Leg.* ii. 178, *De Som.* ii. 112), has above. What these blessings are is not stated. (They may be perhaps identical with the specific qualities assigned to the twelve tribes in *De Som.* ii. 31-36.) But it is enough that they have the perfection of twelve, which is perfect as the duplication of the first perfect number six, see *Spec. Leg.* ii. 177. On the Zodiac see App. p. 454.

At this point the allegory of the three types of soul, though alluded to incidentally in the next sentence, really ends, and
 352

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 65-68

welfare to things here below.^a This is the household, which kept safe from harm, perfect and united both in the literal history and in the allegorical interpretation, received for its reward, as I have said, the chieftaincy of the tribes of the nation. From 66 this household, increased in the course of time to a great multitude, were founded flourishing and orderly cities, schools of wisdom, justice and religion, where also the rest of virtue and how to acquire it is the sublime subject of their research.

XII. We have discussed typical ^b examples of the 67 rewards assigned in the past to the good both individually and in common with others, from which anyone can easily discern those which have been left unnoticed. We have next to consider in their turn the punishments appointed for the wicked, but in a general way since this is not the time to describe particular cases. At the very beginning when the 68 human race had not yet multiplied arose a fratricide.^c He it was who first fell under a curse, who first brought

we return to the main point, the "reward" to Jacob's family, namely the headship of the tribes which expanded into the wisest of nations.

^b For *τυπωδέστερον* L. & S. (revised) gives "summarily," quoting this passage. But the examples can hardly be called a summary. The treatment, however, is the same as that which is called *γενικώτερον* below, and both words may be used loosely to express incompleteness.

^c Philo's view of the Cain story, viz. that his punishment was to be always suffering the pains of dying yet never dead (*cf. De Virt.* 200), has been stated earlier in *De Fug.* 60, *De Conf.* 122, and particularly *Quod Det.* 177 f. As appears there, his scriptural basis is that Cain's death is never recorded, and that the sign which God set upon him that no one should kill him really means that the mark which distinguished him was that he never was killed. Fantastic as the explanation is, it enables Philo to bring out a fine thought.

PHILO

ούση τῇ γῇ μίασμα προσβαλὼν ἄηθες ἀνθρωπείου
 αἵματος, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνιείσαν καὶ βλαστάνουσιν
 γένη ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ οἷς εὐτοκεῖ πᾶσι τεθη-
 λυῖαν τῆς εὐτοκίας ἐπισχών, ὁ πρῶτος φθορὰν
 γενέσει καὶ θάνατον ζωῇ καὶ πένθος χαρᾶ καὶ κακὰ
 69 ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτειχίσας. τί ἂν οὖν παθὼν ἀξίαν
 ἔδεδώκει δίκην, ὅς διὰ μιᾶς πράξεως οὐδὲν τῶν
 βιαιῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν παρέλιπεν; ἴσως ἂν εἴποι τις·
 ἀναιρεθεῖς. ὁ λογισμὸς οὗτος ἀνθρώπου τὸ μέγα
 δικαστήριον οὐ βλέποντος· ἀνθρωποὶ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ
 τιμωριῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον, ἐν δὲ τῷ
 70 θείῳ δικαστηρίῳ μόλις οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχή. ἐπεὶ
 τοίνυν καινὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τιμωρίαν καινὴν εὐρεθῆναι. τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη;
 ζῆν ἀποθνήσκοντα αἰεὶ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θάνατον
 ἀθάνατον ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀτελεύτητον. θανάτου
 γὰρ διττὸν εἶδος· τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι, ὅπερ
 ἀγαθὸν ἐστιν <ἧ> ἀδιάφορον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀπο-
 θνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ κακὸν πάντως καὶ ὅσῳ χρονιώτερον
 71 βαρύτερον. πῶς οὖν ὁ θάνατος αὐτῷ συνδιαιωνίζει,
 σκόπει. τεττάρων ὄντων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθῶν, δυοῖν
 μὲν περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνεστὸς ἢ μέλλον, ἡδονῆς καὶ
 ἐπιθυμίας, δυοῖν δὲ περὶ τὸ κακὸν παρὸν ἢ προσδο-
 κώμενον, λύπης καὶ φόβου, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ
 ῥίζαις αὐταῖς ἐξέτεμε συζυγίαν, ἵνα μὴδ' ἐκ τύχης
 ἦσθῃ ποτε ἢ ἐπιθυμήσῃ τινὸς ἡδέος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
 κακοῦ μόνην ἐνεφύτευσεν εἰς λύπην εὐθυμίας ἀμιγῆ
 72 καὶ φόβον ἄκρατον. φησὶ γάρ, ὅτι ἄρὰν ἐπηράσατο

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 68-72

the monstrous pollution of human blood upon the still pure earth, who first, when it was giving birth and growth to every kind of animals and plants and was bright with all the products of its fruitfulness, set a bar to that fruitfulness, who first armed dissolution against generation, death against life, sorrow against joy and evil against good. What then could 69 be done to him by which he would pay the penalty he deserved, he who in a single action included everything that is violent and impious? Slay him, perhaps you will say. That is a man's idea—man who has no eyes for the great court of justice,—for men think that death is the termination of punishment but in the divine court it is hardly the beginning. Since 70 then the deed was without precedent, the punishment devised had to be also without precedent. What is this punishment? That he should live for ever in a state of dying and so to speak suffer a death which is deathless and unending. For there are two kinds of death, one consists in being dead, which is something either good or indifferent, the other consists in dying and that is entirely bad, more painful because more durable. Death thus remains with him 71 perpetually; observe how that is effected. There are four passions in the soul, two concerned with the good, either at the time or in the future, that is pleasure and desire, and two concerned with evil present or expected, that is grief and fear. The pair on the good side God tore out of him by the roots so that never by any chance he should have any pleasant sensations or desire anything pleasant, and engrafted in him only the pair on the bad side, producing grief unmixed with cheerfulness and fear unrelieved. For he says that he laid a curse upon the 72

- [420] τῷ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ, ὡς | “ στένειν καὶ τρέμειν ” αἰεί, καὶ σημεῖον ἔθετο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς τινος, ἵνα μὴ ἅπαξ ἀποθάνῃ, διαιωνίζῃ δέ, ὡς εἶπον, ἀποθνήσκων ἐν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ ἀνίαις καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀδιαστάτοις καί, ὃ δὴ πάντων ἀργαλεώτατον, αἰσθάνηται τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν χερσὶν ἄχθηται καὶ τὴν φορὰν τῶν μελλόντων προορώμενος μὴ δύνηται φυλάξασθαι, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκτετμημένης αὐτῷ, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων γένει κατέσπειρεν, ἵν’ ἔχοντες συμφυῆς παραμύθιον ἐπελαφρίζωνται τὰς
- 73 ἀνίας οἱ μὴ ἀνίατα δράσαντες. ὥσπερ οὖν τῷ συναρπασθέντι ὑπὸ χειμάρρου φοβερὸν μὲν τὸ πλησίον ῥεῦμα ᾧ κατασύρεται, φοβερώτερον δὲ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐπιφερόμενον, ὃ τῇ μὲν βίᾳ συντόνως ἐπωθεῖ καὶ ἀλήκτως, τῇ δ’ ἐπαναστάσει μετεωρίζόμενον ἐπικλύζει,¹ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀνιαρὰ μὲν τὰ ἐν χερσὶν, ἀργαλεώτερα δὲ τὰ ἐκ φόβου ῥέοντα· χορηγεῖ γὰρ ὁ φόβος καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τὰ ὀδυνηρά.
- 74 XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀρισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἀδελφοκτόνου· ὠρίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ οἰκίαις ἕτερα συνθεμέναις κοινοπραγίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. ἦσαν τινες νεωκόροι καὶ ἱερόδουλοι τὴν πωλῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν· οὗτοι φρονήματος ὑποπλησθέντες ἀλόγου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπανεστήσαν,
- 75 ἀξιοῦντες τὰ ἐκείνων γέρα σφετερίζεσθαι. προ-

¹ Perhaps read ἐπικλύσει.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 72-75

fratricide that he should ever "groan and tremble."^a And he set a sign upon him that no man should slay him so that he should not die once but continue perpetually dying, as I have said, dying with anguish and distress and sufferings unceasing, and most grievous of all should be sensible of his own evil plight, feeling the weight of the present ills and foreseeing the onrush of those yet to come against which he could not guard. For hope had been torn from him, hope which God has sown in mankind that they should have a comforter to be part of their nature and give relief to the distress of all whose deeds are not beyond atonement. So as a man 73 carried away by a torrent dreads the stream around him in which he is swept along but dreads still more the onrush of the flood from above propelling him violently and ceaselessly, but also towering high over him and threatening to engulf him, so too the ills close at hand are painful but more grievous are those which flow from fear, fear which supplies abundance of sorrows as from a fountain.

XIII. Such are the penalties decreed against the 74 man who first committed fratricide, but there are others decreed against groups^b who conspire to sin in common.^c There were certain temple attendants, servitors of the sanctuary, appointed to the office of gate-keepers. These persons filled with insensate ambition rose against the priests whose privileges they claimed should belong to themselves. They 75

^a So LXX Gen. iv. 12. The E.V. has "a fugitive and wanderer" (A.V. "vagabond").

^b Lit. "houses" or "families." The term is extended to the Levites here, perhaps as members of a hereditary caste.

^c For the story see Num. xvi. 1-35, and cf. Mos. ii. 174 f. and 275-282.

στησάμενοι δὲ τῆς συστάσεως ἡγεμόνα τὸν πρεσβύ-
 τατον, ὃς καὶ τοῦ τολμήματος μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν
 συναπονοηθέντων εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο, καταλιπόντες
 τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδύτων
 ἐχώρουν τοὺς χρησμοῖς ἀξιωθέντας τῆς ἱερωσύνης
 76 μεθιστάντες. ταραχὴ μὲν οὖν, ὥς εἰκός, ἐπείχε
 τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν, αἵτε κινουμένων τῶν ἀκινήτων
 καὶ παρασπονδουμένων τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ περὶ
 τὸ ἱερὸν κόσμου σύγχυσιν λαμβάνοντος ὑπ' ἀταξίας
 77 δεινῆς. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιμελητῆς καὶ προ-
 στάτης ἡγανάκτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦθει
 βαρυτέρῳ χρώμενος χωρὶς ὀργῆς—ἦν γὰρ καὶ τὴν
 φύσιν ἀόργητος—λόγοις ἀναδιδάσκειν ἐπειράτο
 μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ταχθέντας ὅρους μὴ
 ὑπερβαίνειν μηδὲ νεωτερίζειν εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ
 καθωσιωμένα, ὧν αἱ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐλπίδες ἐκκρέ-
 78 μανται. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἦνυν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκώφητο
 πρὸς ἅπαντα νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἡττηθέντα φιλ-
 οικείου πάθους ἀρχιερέα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν κατα-
 στῆσαι, τοῖς δ' ἀδελφιδοῖς ἐγχειρίσαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην,
 δεινὸν οὐχὶ τοῦθ' ὑπελάμβανε καίπερ ὃν δεινόν,
 [421] ἀλλ' ἐκείνο | παγχάλεπον, εἰ δόξει τῶν λογίων,
 καθ' ἃ γέγονεν ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλογεῖν. . . .

^a Presumably Korah, though there is no authority for calling him the senior. Possibly this is induced by the confederacy with the tribe of Reuben, which Philo mentions in *Mos.* ii. 175 as the *πρεσβυτάτη φυλή*, whose leader might easily be called *πρεσβύτατος*. If so, it is a slip of memory, as Korah was a Levite, not a Reubenite.

^b *i.e.* 250, Num. xvi. 2.

^c Verse 19 "Korah raised up against them all his company (E.V. all the congregation) by the door of the tabernacle of witness."

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 75-78

adopted as leader of the sedition the senior ^a from among them, who also with a few ^b fellow madmen had been the instigator of the presumptuous enterprise, and leaving the frontage and the outermost parts of the building proceeded towards the inmost sanctuary ^c intending to displace those to whom divine utterances had adjudged the priesthood. Naturally enough the whole multitude was greatly 76 disturbed. They felt that their fundamental institutions were being shaken, their laws violated, and the decent order of the holy place reduced to chaos by such alarming anarchy. All this roused the indigna- 77 tion of the guardian and ruler of the nation. At first very seriously, but without loss of temper, which indeed was alien to his nature, he endeavoured with words of admonition to bring them to a better mind and to refrain from transgressing the appointed limits or revolting against the sacred and hallowed institutions on which the hopes of the nation depended. But this he found was of no avail. They 78 were deaf to all his words, believing that in appointing his brother high priest and committing the priesthood to his nephews he had given way to family affection. He was not however greatly aggrieved at this, great grievance though it was. What he felt to be intolerable was that they should purpose ^d to set at nought the divine instructions under which the choice of the priests had been made. . . .^e

^d Or "that he should be thought," which is perhaps the most natural way of taking the words, but does not agree with Philo's other version of the story. Moses was accused of having invented the divine instructions, *cf. Mos. ii. 176 and 278.*

^e For the lacuna see App. p. 455.

- 79 ¹XIV. . . . μαρτυρία δὲ σαφὴς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
ἀνάκειται γράμμασι. λέγε² τὰς εὐχὰς πρότερον,
ὡς “εὐλογίας” εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν. ἐάν, φησί, τὰς
θείας ἐντολὰς φυλάττητε καταπειθεῖς γινόμενοι
τοῖς προστάγμασι καὶ τὰ διαγορευόμενα μὴ μέχρῃς
ἀκοῆς καταδέχησθε, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν τοῦ βίου πράξεων
ἐπιτελήτε, πρώτην δωρεὰν ἔξετε νίκην κατ’ ἐχθρῶν.
80 οὐ γὰρ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βαρύτεραι τῆς τῶν χρησο-
μένων δυνάμεως αἱ προστάξεις εἰσὶν οὐδὲ μακρὰν
τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφέστηκεν, ἢ πέραν θαλάττης ἢ ἐν
ἐσχατιαῖς γῆς, ὡς δεῖσθαι πολυχρονίου καὶ καμα-
τηρᾶς ἀποδημίας, οὐδ’ ἐξαίφνης ἐστείλατο τὴν
ἐνθὲνδε εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποικίαν, ἵνα τις μετέωρος
καὶ πτηνὸς ἀρθεῖς μόλις ἐφικέσθαι τούτων δυνηθῇ.
πλησίον δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγγυτάτω, τρισὶ μέρεσι τῶν³
καθ’ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνιδρυμένον, “στόματι καὶ
καρδίᾳ καὶ χερσὶ,” τροπικώτερον λόγῳ καὶ διανοίᾳ
81 καὶ πράξεσιν. ἐάν γὰρ οἶα τὰ βουλευόμενα τοιοῦτοι
οἱ λόγοι καὶ οἶα τὰ λεγόμενα τοιαῖδε αἱ πράξεις
ᾧσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀντακολουθῇ δεθέντα
ἀρμονίας ἀλύτοις δεσμοῖς, εὐδαιμονία κρατεῖ, τουτ-
έστιν ἡ ἀψεудεστάτη σοφία καὶ φρόνησις, σοφία

¹ Cohn here inserts a title *Περὶ εὐχῶν καὶ εὐλογιῶν*. The mss. have no title, quite possibly, as he says, because the beginning of this part of the treatise is lost. In my view (see General Introduction, pp. xix. f.) there is really no need for a title at all. But even if there is, the only authority for the form which he adopts is that a quotation in St. John Damascene's parallels is cited as coming from "Philo, *Περὶ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐλογιῶν*." The words εὐχὰς ὡς "εὐλογίας" εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν in § 79 would point rather to *Περὶ εὐχῶν ἢτοι εὐλογιῶν*.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 79-81

XIV. . . . A clear testimony is recorded in the 79 Holy Scriptures. We will cite first ^a the invocations ^b which he is accustomed to call benedictions.^c If, he says, you keep the divine commandment in obedience to his ordinances and accept his precepts, not merely to hear them but to carry them out by your life and conduct, the first boon ^d you will have is victory over your enemies. ^e For the commandments are not too 80 huge and heavy for the strength of those to whom they will apply, nor is the good far away either beyond the sea or at the end of the earth, so that it requires of you a lingering and wearisome exile, nor has it suddenly left this earth to settle in Heaven, so that one can scarce reach them though he soar on high and wing his way thither. No, it is close by, very near, firmly set in three of the parts of which each of us is constituted, mouth and heart and hand, representing in a figure respectively speech and thought and action. For if our words correspond 81 with our thoughts and intentions and our actions with our words and the three mutually follow each other, bound together with indissoluble bonds of harmony, happiness prevails and happiness is wisdom pure of all falsehood, the higher and the lower

^a Or "take and read" (imperative). The form follows the usual way of citing a document in Demosthenes.

^b The blessings of Deut. xxviii. are given in the LXX in the optative form "may the Lord," etc., where the E.V. has the future indicative "the Lord shall."

^c *e.g.* Deut. xi. 26, xxviii. 2.

^d Lev. xxvi. 7, Deut. xxviii. 1, 7.

^e For the next section see Deut. xxx. 11-14; *cf. De Virt.* 183.

² Some mss. λέγειν. Mangey λέγει, but see note *a*.

³ mss. τοῖς.

PHILO

- μὲν [γὰρ] πρὸς θεραπείαν θεοῦ, φρόνησις δὲ πρὸς
 82 ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διοίκησιν. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν λέγεται
 μόνον τὰ τῶν νόμων παραγγέλματα, βραχείας ἢ
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνει· προσγενομένων δ'
 ἀκολουθῶν καὶ ἐπομένων ἔργων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου
 πᾶσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ζόφου βαθέος εἰς
 φῶς ἀναχθέντα περιλαμφθήσεται δι' εὐκλείας καὶ
 83 εὐφημίας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶποι καὶ τῶν φύσει
 βασκάνων, ὅτι σοφὸν ἄρα γένος καὶ ἐπιστημονι-
 κώτατον μόνον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ τὰς θείας παραι-
 νέσεις ἐξεγένετο μὴ κενὰς καὶ ἐρήμους ἀπολιπεῖν
 τῶν οἰκείων πράξεων, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι τοὺς λόγους
 84 ἔργοις ἐπαινετοῖς; τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐ μακρὰν
 ἀπώκισται θεοῦ, φαντασιούμενον αἰεὶ τὰ αἰθήρια
 κάλλη καὶ ποδηγετούμενον ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐρανίου,
 ὥς, καὶ εἰ πύθοιτό τις, ποῖον ἔθνος μέγα, προσ-
 φυῶς ἂν τινὰς ἀποκρίνασθαι· ὧ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν
 ἐπήκοος¹ ἱεροπρεπεστάτων εὐχῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ
 καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος κατακλήσεσι συνεγγίζων.
 85 XV. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχθρῶν διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἀν-
 θρώπων ἐκ πλεονεξίας ἐπιτηδεύσει γεγονός, τὸ δὲ
 θηρίων ἀνευ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλοτριότητι χρώμενον
 φυσικῇ, περὶ ἑκατέρου λεκτέον ἐν μέρει, καὶ πρό-
 τερόν γε τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς φύσει πολεμίους θήρας·

¹ MSS. ὑπήκοος.

^a Or if it is preferred, "wisdom and prudence." Philo has, no doubt, in mind Deut. iv. 6 "ye shall keep them and do them. For this is your wisdom and understanding" (σύνεσις).

^b Deut. iv. 6 again. "They shall say 'behold this great nation is a wise and understanding (ἐπιστήμων) people.'"

^c Deut. iv. 7. E.V. "What great nation is there that hath

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 81-85

wisdom,^a the higher for the worship of God, the lower for the regulation of human life. Now while 82 the commandments of the laws are only on our lips our acceptance of them is little or none, but when we add thereto deeds which follow in their company, deeds shown in the whole conduct of our lives, the commandments will be as it were brought up out of the deep darkness into the light and surrounded with the brightness of good fame and good report. For 83 who, however spiteful his nature, would not admit that surely that nation alone is wise and full of knowledge^b whose history has been such that it has not left the divine exhortations voided and forsaken by the actions which are akin to them, but has fulfilled the words with laudable deeds? Such a race 84 has its dwelling not far from God; it has the vision of ethereal loveliness always before its eyes, and its steps are guided by a heavenward yearning. So that if one should ask "what manner of nation is great?", others might aptly answer "a nation which has God to listen to its prayers inspired by true religion and to draw nigh when they call upon him with a clean conscience."^c

XV. Enmity is of two kinds. There is the enmity 85 of men which has selfishness for its motive and is deliberately practised, and there is the enmity of wild beasts which is actuated by natural antipathy without such deliberation. Consequently each must be treated separately, taking first that of our natural

a god (or God) so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is whensoever we call upon him?" Here the LXX has *ποῖον ἔθνος μέγα ᾧ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ θεὸς ἐγγίζων αὐτοῖς*, which no doubt means the same thing. But Philo takes it as a question, "What nation is great?" answered by "One which has," etc.

PHILO

οὔτοι γὰρ οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους ἑνός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
 σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους δυσμενεῖς εἰσιν, οὐ
 [422] πρὸς | ὥρισμένου χρόνου μῆκος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόριστον
 86 καὶ ἀπερίγραφον αἰῶνα. τούτων οἱ μὲν ὡς
 δεσπότην ἄνθρωπον δεδιότες ὑποπτήσσουσιν ἐγ-
 κώτῳ μίσει, οἱ δὲ τολμηταὶ καὶ θρασύτεροι προ-
 επιχειροῦσι καιροφυλακοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀσθενέστεροι
 τυγχάνουσιν, ἐξ ἐνέδρας, εἰ δὲ δυνατώτεροι,
 87 φανερώς. ἄσπονδος γὰρ καὶ ἀκήρυκτος εἰς
 πόλεμος οὗτος, ὡς λύκοις πρὸς ἄρνας, καὶ πᾶσι
 θηρίοις πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐνύδροις τε καὶ
 χερσαίοις· ὃν θνητὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς δυνατὸς καθαιρεῖν,
 ὃ δ' ἀγένητος μόνος καθαιρεῖ, ὅταν κρίνῃ τινὰς
 σωτηρίας ἀξίους, εἰρηνικοὺς μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ὁμο-
 φροσύνην δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀσπαζομένους, οἷς
 φθόνος ἢ συνόλως οὐκ ἐνώκησεν ἢ τάχιστα μεταν-
 ἔστη τὰ ἴδια προφέρειν εἰς μέσον ἀγαθὰ διεγνω-
 88 κόσιν εἰς κοινὴν μετουσίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν. εἰ γὰρ
 ἐπιλάμψει ποτε τῷ βίῳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ
 δυνηθείημεν τὸν καιρὸν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ἐν ᾧ χειροήθη
 ποτὲ γενήσεται τὰ ἀτίθασα. πολὺ δὲ¹ πρότερον τὰ
 ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θηρία τιθασευθήσεται, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν
 οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν· ἢ οὐχὶ εὗρηθες ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι
 τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς θηρίων βλάβας ἐκφευξόμεθα
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς δεινὴν ἀγριότητα ἀεὶ συγκρο-
 τοῦντες; ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπελπιστέον, ὅτι ἐξημερωθέν-

¹ MSS. πολὺ γε or πολὺ γὰρ.

^a Philo apparently does not contemplate a universal or complete reformation of mankind before this change in the animal world. A change of heart in some there must be

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 85-88

foes, the beasts, whose hatred is directed not towards a single city or nation but to mankind as a whole and endures not for a limited period but is age-long, without bound or limit of time. Some of these fear 86 man as their master and cringe before him yet retain a rancorous hatred, others are audacious and more venturesome and are the first to attack, lying in wait to seize their opportunity if they are weaker, openly if they are stronger. For this is the one 87 war where no quarter or truce is possible ; as wolves with lambs, so all wild beasts both on land and water are at war with all men. This war no mortal can quell ; that is done only by the Uncreated, when He judges that there are some^a worthy of salvation, men of peaceful disposition who cherish brotherly affection and good fellowship, in whom envy has either found no room at all or has entered only to take its departure with all speed, because their will is to bring their private blessings into the common stock to be shared and enjoyed by all alike. Would that this good gift might shine upon 88 our life and that we might be able to see that day when savage creatures become tame and gentle. But a very necessary preliminary to this is that the wild beasts within the soul shall be tamed, and no greater boon than this can be found. For is it not foolish to suppose that we shall escape the mischief which the brutes outside us can do if we are always working up those within us to dire savagery ? Therefore we need not give up hope that when the wild before the pacification, but even then it will only mean peace between the beasts and good men. But it will be sufficiently general to shame men into a horror of war (§§ 91 f.). For the foundations of his belief in the pacification apart from the obvious Isaiah xi. 6-9 see App. p. 455.

- των τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἡμερωθήσεται.
- 89 τότε μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τὰ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ τίγρεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τὰς ἀλκὰς καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀήττητα μεταβαλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μονωτικοῦ τε καὶ μονοτρόπου πρὸς τὸ σύννομον· καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μιμήσει τῶν ἀγελαίων ἡμερωθήσεται πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου φαντασίαν, μηκέτι ὡς πρότερον ἀνερειθισθέντα, καταπλαγέντα δ' ὡς ἄρχοντα καὶ φύσει δεσπότην εὐλαβῶς ἔξει, ἔνια δὲ καὶ τοῦ χειροήθους ἅμα καὶ φιλοδεσπότου τῇ παραζηλώσει, καθάπερ τὰ Μελιταῖα τῶν κυνιδίων ταῖς κέρκοις μεθ' ἱλαρωτέρας
- 90 κινήσεως προσσαίνοντα.¹ τότε καὶ τὰ σκορπίων γένη καὶ ὄφειων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρπετῶν ἄπρακτον ἔξει τὸν ἰόν· φέρει καὶ ποταμὸς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὄμορα² τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας ἀνθρωποβόρα ζῶα, τοὺς κροκοδείλους λεγομένους καὶ ποταμίους ἵππους, φέρει καὶ τὰ πελάγη μυρίας ἰδέας ἀργαλεωτάτων ζώων· παρ' οἷς ἅπασιν ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος γένοιτ' ἂν ὁ σπουδαῖος, ἀρετὴν τιμήσαντος θεοῦ καὶ γέρας αὐτῇ παρασχόντος τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον.
- 91 XVI. Οὕτως μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ

¹ mss. προσσαίνοντα.

² So some mss. Others ὁμοῖα, which Cohn prints, but supposes that καὶ βλαβερά has fallen out, or ὁμοίως βλαβερά should be substituted. This seems quite unnecessary. I see no objection to ὄμορα to mark the proximity and therefore greater dangerousness of the river animals as compared with the marine.

^a Cohn, if I do not misjudge him, would omit τῇ and take

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 88-91

beasts within us are fully tamed the animals too will become tame and gentle. When that time comes I 89 believe that bears and lions and panthers and the Indian animals, elephants and tigers, and all others whose vigour and power are invincible, will change their life of solitariness and isolation for one of companionship, and gradually in imitation of the gregarious creatures show themselves tame when brought face to face with mankind. They will no longer as heretofore be roused to ferocity by the sight, but will be awe-struck into respectful fear of him as their natural lord and master, while others will grow gentle in emulation of the docility and affection for the master ^a shown for instance by the little Maltese dogs, ^b who express their fondness with the tails which they so cheerily wag. Then too the 90 tribes of scorpions and serpents and the other reptiles will have no use for their venom. The Egyptian river too carries man-eating creatures called crocodiles and hippopotamuses in close proximity to the inhabitants of the country, so too the seas have their multitudinous species of very formidable animals. Among all these the man of worth will move sacrosanct and inviolate because God has respected virtue and given it the privilege that none should imagine mischief against it.

XVI. Thus the age-long and natural and therefore 91

παραζηλώσει as a verb followed by the genitive *τοῦ χειροήθους καὶ φιλοδεσπότου* with which he understands *ζῶον*. But there is no reason to think that *παραζηλοῦν* can govern a genitive, and *τοῦ χειροήθους καὶ φιλοδεσπότου* is surely the neuter adjective used as an abstract noun. The verb understood is *ἡμερωθήσεται* from above and the noun *παραζηλώσει* is parallel to *μυμήσει*.

^b See App. p. 456.

- φύσει καταλυθήσεται πόλεμος, ἡμερωθέντων καὶ
 [423] μεταβαλόντων τῶν θηρίων πρὸς τὸ τιθασόν. ὁ δὲ |
 νεώτερος καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει γενόμενος ἐκ πλεονεξίας
 ῥαδίως διαλυθήσεται, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς γέ μοι
 δοκεῖ, δυσωπηθέντων, εἰ μελλήσουσιν ἀγριώτεροι
 ζώων ἀλόγων ἐξετάζεσθαι, ὅτε τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων¹
 92 ζῆμίας καὶ βλάβας ἐκπεφύγασιν. αἰσχιστον γάρ,
 ὡς εἰκός, φανέεται, τὰ μὲν ἰοβόλα καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρα
 καὶ ἄμικτα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα ἔνσπονδα γεγενῆσθαι
 μεταβαλόντα πρὸς εἰρήνην, τὸ δὲ ἡμερον φύσει
 ζῶον, ἀνθρωπον, κοινωνίας καὶ ὁμονοίας συγγενές,
 93 ἀσπονδεῖ φονᾶν κατὰ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἢ τὸ παράπαν
 οὖν, φησὶν, οὐ διελεύσεται πόλεμος διὰ χώρας
 εὐσεβῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καταρρυνήσεται καὶ συντριβή-
 σεται πρὸς ἑαυτόν, πρὸς οἷους ἔσοιτο ὁ ἀγὼν
 αἰσθανομένων τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἅτε χρωμένους ἀν-
 ανταγωνίστῳ συμμαχία τοῦ δικαίου· μεγαλοπρεπές
 γὰρ καὶ περίσεμνον ἀρετὴ καὶ μόνη καθ' ἡσυχίαν
 ἱκανὴ φορὰς μεγάλων ἐξευμαρίζειν κακῶν.
 94 ἢ καὶ μεμνηότες τινὲς ἄττωσιν ἀκαθέκτῳ καὶ
 ἀπαρηγορήτῳ χρώμενοι τῇ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ,
 μέχρι μὲν συνίστανται,² καταλαζονεύσονται θρασυνό-
 μενοι, πρὸς δὲ χειρῶν ἄμιλλαν ἤκοντες αἰσθή-
 σονται κενὸν αὐχῆμα αὐχῆσαντες, ὥς μὴ δυνάμενοι

¹ MSS. ἄλλων.

² Perhaps συνιστῶνται. See note c.

^a Lit. "older both in time and by (not, I think, "in") nature," cf. § 85. The fact that it is created by nature in itself makes it, as compared with the non-natural war of men against men, πρεσβύτερος, though it is also so as judged by time.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 91-94

primary war^a will be brought to an end through the change which makes the wild beasts tame and amenable. And then its later successor whose source is selfishness and its method deliberate will be easily settled, because men, I believe, will take shame to think that they should prove to be more savage than the irrational animals, when they have escaped all danger of injury or mischief from them. For surely it will seem a deep disgrace that while 92 venomous and man-eating brutes and creatures without a sense of fellowship or companionship have become placable and have been won over to a peaceful disposition, man, a creature naturally gentle and kindly, in whom the sense of fellowship and amity is ingrained, should implacably seek the life of his own kind. Either, then, as he says, the war 93 will not pass through the land of the godly at all,^b but will dissolve and fall to pieces of itself when the enemy perceives the nature of their opponents, that they have in justice an irresistible ally. For virtue is majestic and august and can unaided and silently allay the onsets of evils however great. Or 94 if some fanatics whose lust for war defies restraint or remonstrance come careering to attack, till they are actually engaged,^c they will be full of arrogance and bluster, but when they have come to a trial of blows they will find that their talk has been an idle boast. Win they cannot. Forced back by your

^b Quoted almost verbatim from Lev. xxvi. 6.

^c Or "while they are coming to close quarters," which should be the meaning if the indicative is kept (see note 2). *μέχρι* = "until," referring to the future, is followed by the subjunctive, generally with, but sometimes without, *άν*.

νικᾶν· ῥώμη γὰρ ἀντιβιασθέντες κραταιοτέρα φεύ-
 ζονται προτροπάδην πρὸς πεντάδων ἑκατοντάδες
 καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδων μυριάδες, πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς οἱ
 95 κατὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες. ἔνιοι δέ, μηδὲ διώκοντος
 μηδενὸς ὅτι μὴ φόβου, τὰ νῶτα τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις εἰς
 βολὰς εὐσκόπους ἐπιστρέψουσιν, ὥς εὐμάρειαν¹
 εἶναι πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεθέντας πεσεῖν. “ἐξ-
 ελεύσεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος,” φησὶν ὁ χρησμός, καὶ
 στραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν ἔθνη μεγάλα καὶ πολυάν-
 θρωπα χειρώσεται, τὸ ἀρμόττον ὁσίοις ἐπικουρικὸν
 ἐπιπέμψαντος τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ θάρσος ψυχῶν
 ἀκατάπληκτον καὶ σωμάτων ἰσχύς κραταιοτάτη,
 ὧν καὶ θάτερον φοβερόν ἐχθροῖς, ἄμφω δὲ εἰ
 96 συνέλθοι, καὶ παντελῶς ἀνυπόστατα.² ἐνίους δὲ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναξίους ἔσεσθαι φησὶν ἡττης τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων, οἷς σμήνη σφηκῶν ἀντιτάξειν ἐπ’
 97 ὀλέθρῳ αἰσχίστῳ προπολεμοῦντα τῶν ὁσίων. τού-
 τους³ δ’ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ νίκην ἀναιμωτῇ
 βεβαίως ἔξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κράτος ἀρχῆς ἀνανταγώ-
 [424] νιστον ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν | ὑπηκόων, ἣ γένοιτ’ ἂν δι’
 εὐνοίαν ἢ φόβον ἢ αἰδῶ. τρία γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύουσι τὰ
 μέγιστα καὶ συντείνοντα πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀκαθαί-
 ρετον, σεμνότητα καὶ δεινότητα καὶ εὐεργεσίαν, ἐξ
 ὧν ἀποτελεῖται τὰ λεχθέντα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σεμνὸν
 αἰδῶ κατασκευάζει, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν φόβον, τὸ δὲ

¹ Perhaps read εὐμάρειαν <ἂν>. See note a.

² MSS. ἀνυπόστατον.

³ MSS. τοῦτο.

^a Lev. xxvi. 7 “they shall fall before you by the sword.” Philo perhaps wishes to avoid the suggestion of actual bloodshed. So too in the next sentence, if εὐμάρειαν ἂν is read, see note 1.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 94-97

superior strength, they will fly headlong,^a companies of hundreds before handfuls of five, ten thousands before hundreds by many ways for the one by which they came.^b Some, without even any 95 pursuer save fear, will turn their backs and present admirable targets to their enemies so that it would be an easy matter for all to fall slaughtered to a man.^c For "there shall come forth a man,"^d says the oracle, and leading his host to war he will subdue great and populous nations, because God has sent to his aid the reinforcement which befits the godly, and that is dauntless courage of soul and all-powerful strength of body, either of which strikes fear into the enemy and the two if united are quite irresistible. Some of the enemy, he says, will be unworthy 96 to be defeated by men. He promises to marshal against them to their shame and perdition, swarms of wasps^e to fight in the van of the godly, who will 97 win not only a permanent and bloodless victory in the war but also a sovereignty which none can contest, bringing to its subjects the benefit which will accrue from the affection or fear or respect which they feel. For the conduct of their rulers shows three high qualities which contribute to make a government secure from subversion, namely dignity, strictness, benevolence, which produce the feelings mentioned above. For respect is created by dignity,

^b Lev. xxvi. 8, Deut. xxviii. 7.

^c No particular text for this in the blessings. It is perhaps suggested by the parallel curse, Lev. xxvi. 37; *cf.* § 148.

^d So LXX in Num. xxiv. 7 "There shall come forth a man from his seed and shall rule over many nations." The Hebrew appears to be totally different. E.V. "Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters."

^e E.V. "hornets." Ex. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20.

εὐεργετικὸν εὖνοιαν, ἅπερ ἀνακραθέντα καὶ ἀρμολθέντα ἐν ψυχῇ καταπειθεῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑπηκόους ἀπεργάζεται.

- 98 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρῶτά φησι συμβῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπομένοις θεῷ καὶ περιεχομένοις αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν τοῦ βίου μερῶν ταῦτα ἐφαρμόττουσιν, ὡς μηδὲν¹ νόσῳ πλαζόμενον ἐκδιαιτᾶσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ πλουτον, ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον εἰρήνη καὶ ἀρχῇ ἔπεται.
- 99 πλοῦτος δὲ ὁ μὲν τῆς φύσεως εὐτελής ἐστι τροφή καὶ σκέπη· τροφή μὲν οὖν ἄρτος καὶ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ, ὃ πανταχοῦ² τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνακέχυται· σκέπης δὲ διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἀμπεχόνη, τὸ δὲ οἰκία, διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους παρακολουθούσας ζημίας· ὧν ἐκάτερον, εἴ τις ἐθέλησει τὴν περίεργον καὶ περιττὴν ἀφελεῖν πολυτέλειαν,
- 100 εὐποριστότατον. οἱ δ' ἂν ζηλώσωσι τὸν λεχθέντα πλουτον ἀσπασάμενοι τὰ φύσεως δῶρα, μὴ τὰ τῆς κενῆς δόξης, ὀλιγοδείαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν ἀσκήσαντες, ἔξουσι κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀβροδιαίτου τροφῆς πλουτον οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσαντας· ἐπιτηδῆσει γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους καὶ σεμνοὺς τῆς ἀρμοττούσης χρήσεως ἐπιστήμονας, ἀποδράς ἄσμενος τὰς τῶν ἀκολάστων καὶ ὕβριστῶν συνδιαιτήσεις, ἵνα μὴ χορηγῇ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν
- 101 πλησίον ζῶσι παρελθὼν τοὺς κοινωφελεῖς. λόγιον γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι τοῖς τὰς ἱεροπρεπεῖς ἐντολὰς φυλάττουσιν ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸς ὁμβρήσει καιρίους ὑετούς, ἡ δὲ γῆ καρπῶν παντοδαπῶν οἴσει φοράν, ἡ μὲν

¹ MSS. μηδένα.

² MSS. α πανταχοῦ or ἀπανταχοῦ.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 97-101

fear by strictness, affection by benevolence, and these when blended harmoniously in the soul render subjects obedient to their rulers.

XVII. These are the first blessings which he tells 98 us will fall to the lot of those who follow God and always and everywhere cleave to His commandments and so fasten them to every part of life that no part can go astray into new and unwholesome ways. The second blessing is wealth which necessarily follows peace and settled authority. Now the simple wealth 99 of nature is food and shelter.^a Its food is bread and the spring water which gushes up in every part of the inhabited world. Shelter is of two kinds, raiment and housing, to save us from the injuries which cold and heat bring in their train, and both of these, if anyone is willing to eliminate costly and superfluous extravagance, are very easily obtainable. Yet those 100 who pursue the above-named wealth, who welcome the gifts of nature and not those of empty seeming, who practise frugality and self-restraint, will possess also abundance and more than abundance of another wealth in the shape of delectable food, and that without effort on their part. For it will spring to meet them as best fitted to receive it and as men of serious purpose who will know how to use it aright, and it will gladly flee from association with men of profligacy and violence, lest it should minister its boons to those who live to harm their neighbours and pass by those who serve the common weal. For there is a 101 divine promise^b that on those who keep the sacred ordinances Heaven will shower timely rains, and the earth will bear abundance of every kind of food, the

^a Cf. *De Virt.* 6.

^b Lev. xxvi. 3, 4, Deut. xi. 13, 14.

- πεδιάς σπαρτῶν, ἡ δ' ὀρεινὴ τῶν ἀκροδρύων, καὶ
 ὅτι χρόνος οὐδεὶς ἀπολειφθήσεται κενὸς εὐεργεσίας,
 ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεχεῖ καὶ ἐπαλλήλῳ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρί-
 των “ καταλήψεται ὁ μὲν ἄμνητος τρύγητον, κατα-
 102 λήψεται δὲ ὁ τρύγητος σπόρον,” ὥς ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ
 ἀδιαστάτως αἰεὶ τὰ μὲν συγκομίζειν, τὰ δὲ ἐλπίζειν,
 ἐφεδρευόντων ἑτέροις ἑτέρων, ἵνα τοῖς πέρασιν τῶν
 προτέρων αἱ τῶν ὑστέρων ἀρχαὶ συνάπτουσαι κύκ-
 λον τινὰ καὶ χορείαν ἀποτελῶσιν ἀνεπιδεᾶ παντὸς
 103 ἀγαθοῦ. τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν γινομένων ἐξαρκέσει
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραντίκα χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀφθονον περιουσίαν, νέων
 ἐπακμαζόντων παλαιοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔνδειαν
 προσαναπληρούντων· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ ὑπ' εὐφορίας
 [425] ἀλέκτου τῶν | πάλαι συγκομισθέντων φροντίζει τὸ
 παράπαν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀταμίευτα καὶ ἀθησαύριστα
 καταλείβουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφέντες τὴν χρήσιν
 104 ἀδεᾶ. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐν οὐρανῷ
 κατάκειται διὰ σοφίας καὶ ὁσιότητος ἀσκηθεὶς,¹ τού-
 τοις καὶ ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ γῆς περιουσιάζει,
 προνοία καὶ ἐπιμελεία θεοῦ τῶν ταμείων αἰεὶ πλη-
 ρομένων, ἐκ τοῦ² τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν
 χειρῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν

¹ This though perhaps translatable is strange. Cohn suggests *ἀσκησιν* presumably=“by the practice of,” but for this we should expect *ἀσκήσεως*. The same sense can be got more easily by *ἀσκηθεῖσι* agreeing with *οἷς*, and this I think may be the true reading. *ἀσκεῖν* in the sense of “train” is not uncommon, though “practise” is more common at any rate in Philo.

² Cohn wished to read *ἐνεκα τοῦ*=“in order that.” But see note c.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 101-104

lowlands of sown grain, the highlands of tree fruits, and no season will be left without some measure of beneficence, but so continuous will be the succession of the gifts of God "that the reaping will overtake the vintage and the vintage the seed time."^a Thus in 102 ceaseless and unbroken order they will gather in the former harvest and hope for the latter, one set waiting to follow another, so that the beginnings of the later may join on to the ends of the earlier and move round and round in a procession from which no good thing is withheld. For the multitude of things 103 produced will suffice both for immediate use and enjoyment and to provide a generous surplus for the future, as the new crops ripen over the old and fill up what is lacking in them. Sometimes so vast will be the fertility that no one will take any thought for the harvest that is past but will leave it unhusbanded and unhoarded for all who wish to use it without fear or scruple. For those who possess stored up in Heaven 104 the true wealth whose adornment is ^b wisdom and godliness have also wealth of earthly riches in abundance. For under the providence and good care of God their store-houses are ever filled, because ^c the impulses of their minds and the undertakings of their hands are never hindered in carrying out successfully

^a Lev. xxvi. 5.

^b Or "decked out in." This is the only way of taking the word if it is to stand. I do not think that Cohn's "acquired" or "earned" ("erworben") is possible. See note 1.

^c Cohn "in order that," see note 2. But Philo is working on Deut. xxviii. 8 "The Lord send upon thee blessing on thy barns (ταμείους), and upon all to which thou shalt lay thy hand (ἐπιβάλῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου)." The fullness of the barns is the natural consequence of the industry expressed in the second clause.

- 105 τῶν αἰὶ σπουδαζομένων¹ κατόρθωσιν. οἷς δὲ ὁ κληρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐράνιος δι' ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῶν εὐδοεῖν πέφυκεν ἢ κτήσις· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσγένηται, τάχιστα ἀπεπήδησεν, ὡς παραγενομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν λαβόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βαρῦναι τὴν ἀνίαν σφοδρότερον, ἥτις ἐκ τοῦ στέρεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγ-
- 106 καῖον ἔπεται. XVIII. τότε δὴ, φησὶν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν εὐφορίας καὶ ἀφθονίας ὁ νῦν ὑπομένεις ἐργάσῃ· νῦν μὲν γὰρ μήτε τῶν νόμων μήτε τῶν πατρίων ἔθων αἰδῶ ποιούμενος ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀθρώως ἀλογῶν ὑστερίζεις μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, θεραπεύεις δὲ τὰς τῶν δανειστῶν καὶ ὀβολοστατῶν οἰκίας ἐπὶ πολλῷ δανειζόμενος· τότε δ', ὥσπερ ἔφην, δράσεις τοῦναν-
- 107 τίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀφθόνου περιουσίας αὐτὸς ἄλλοις δανειεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα οὐδ' ὀλίγοις, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς, ὅλοις μὲν οὖν ἔθνεσι, πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν εὐτυχῶς ἀπαντῶντων, τῶν μὲν κατὰ πόλιν ἀρχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ εὐδοξίαις διὰ τε εὐδικίας καὶ εὐβουλίας καὶ τοῦ διὰ λόγων καὶ πράξεων κοινωφελοῦς, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἀγρόν εὐφορίαις καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, σίτου, οἴνου, ἐλαίου, καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀβροδίατον βίον, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμύθητα γένη τῶν ἀκροδρῶν, καὶ ἔτι βουκολίων αἰπολίων τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων εὐτοκία.²

¹ After *σπουδαζομένων* Cohn inserts *καλῶν* from the quotation of the passage by St. John Damascene, against the mss. It does not fit in well with my interpretation of the passage. See note c on p. 375.

² MSS. *εὐτοκία*, which, as they omit *iotas subscript*, may be either nominative or dative. Cohn (like Mangey) printed the nominative, but afterwards in his translation saw that the dative was needed.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 105-107

the purposes which they ever^a zealously pursue. But 105
those who through injustice and impiety have no
heavenly portion cannot prosper in acquiring earthly
goods either, and if any such acquisition comes their
way it speedily springs away as if its coming at all
were not to benefit its possessor but to make the
distress which necessarily follows on lack of means^b
weigh more heavily upon him. XVIII. In those 106
days he says your vast prosperity and opulence will
cause you to do to others what you now suffer from
them. Now because you pay no respect to the laws
or ancestral customs, but despise the whole body of
them, you lack bare necessities and wait upon the
houses of money lenders and usurers and borrow at
high interest. But then, as I said, you will do the 107
opposite, for in the abundance of your opulence you
will yourself lend to others, not few loans nor to
few, but many and to many, nay rather to whole
nations.^c For prosperity will attend you in every-
thing both in the city and in the country^d; in
the city by offices, honours and reputations through
justice well administered, through policy well con-
sidered, through words and deeds directed to serve
the common weal: in the land by the fertility both
of the necessities, corn, wine and oil, and the means
of enjoyable life, that is the numberless kinds of tree
fruits, and also by the fruitful multiplying of oxen
and goats and other cattle.^e

^a Or perhaps "from time to time" = whatever at any time they pursue.

^b So, rather than "loss" (Cohn), if the comparative has any sense. Poverty is painful anyway but more painful if it follows abundance.

^c Deut. xv. 6.

^d Deut. xxviii. 3.

^e Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 4.

- 108 Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος, εἴποι τις ἄν, τῷ μὴ μέλλοντι κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους ἀπολιπεῖν; διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰς εὐεργεσίας φησὶν· οὐδεὶς ἄγονος οὐδὲ στεῖρα γενήσεται, πάντες δὲ οἱ θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γνήσιοι νόμον ἐκπληρώσουσι φύ-
- 109 σεως τὸν ἐπὶ παιδοποιῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἔσονται πατέρες καὶ πατέρες εὐπαιδες καὶ γυναῖκες ἔσονται μητέρες καὶ μητέρες εὐτεκνοί, ὡς ἕκαστον οἶκον πλήρωμα εἶναι πολυανθρώπου συγγενείας, μηδεὶς ἐλλειφθέντος ἢ μέρους ἢ ὀνόματος τῶν ὅσα ἐπιφημίζεται τοῖς προσήκουσι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω, γονεῖς, θεῖους, πάππους, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κάτω πάλιν ὁμοίως, (υἱούς), ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφιδούς, υἱωνούς, [426] θυγατρίδους, ἀνεψιούς, | ἀνεψιαδούς, τοὺς ἐξ αἵ-
- 110 ματος πάντας. ὠκύμορος δ' ἢ ἀτελής οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο τῶν κοσμουμένων τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέ τις ἡλικίας ἄμοιρος ὣν ὁ θεὸς ἔνειμεν ἀνθρώπων γένει· ἀλλ' ἐκ βρέφους ἐπανιών ἐξῆς ὥσπερ δι' ἀναβαθμῶν, τεταγμέναις χρόνων περιόδοις ἐκάστης ἡλικίας τοὺς ὀρισθέντας ἀριθμοὺς συνεκπληρώσας, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφίξεται τὴν θανάτῳ μᾶλλον δ' ἀθανασίᾳ γειννώσαν, ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐγηρως, εὐπαιδα καὶ πολὺπαιδα οἶκον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ κατα-
- 111 λιπών. XIX. τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅπερ εἶπέ που προθεσπίζων, ὅτι "τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν σου ἀναπληρώσεις," παγκάλως χρησάμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι κυρίοις ἅμα καὶ προσφύεσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθὴς

^a Ex. xxiii. 26 "There shall be no man childless nor woman barren on thy land. The number of thy days I will surely fulfil." Philo quotes the first part of this verse, as it stands in the LXX (E.V. "none shall cast her young nor be barren

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 108-111

But someone may say, what profit is there in all 108
 this to one who is not going to leave behind him
 heirs and successors? And therefore he crowns his
 boons by saying that no man shall be childless and
 no woman barren, but all the true servants of God
 will fulfil the law of nature for the procreation of
 children.^a For men will be fathers and women 109
 mothers both happy in those they beget or bear, so
 that each family will be a plenitude with a long
 list of kinsfolk, with no part nor any of the names
 which signify relationship missing. In the upper line
 will be parents, uncles, grandparents, likewise in
 the lower line sons, brothers, brothers' sons, grand-
 sons, daughters' sons, cousins, cousins' sons, in fact all
 that are allied by blood. And none of those who 110
 conform to the laws will die an early death or be
 cut short, or denied any stage of life that God has
 assigned to the human race, but each will rise as by
 stepping-stones from infancy through the successive
 terms appointed to every age, fulfilling its allotted
 tale until he reaches the last, the neighbour of death
 or rather immortality, and passes from that truly
 goodly old age to leave a great house of goodly
 children to fill his place. XIX. This is what he 111
 means when he gives the prediction "thou shalt
 fulfil the number of thy days" and the exactness
 and aptness of the words which he uses is truly
 admirable.^b For the ignorant and lawless is of no

in thy land"), and the second part in § 111, where, however,
 he alters "I will fulfil" to "thou shalt fulfil."

^b *i.e.* the text does mean that long life in the literal sense
 is one of the promised blessings, but it also gives through
 the κύρια ὀνόματα (ἀριθμός and ἡμέρα) the spiritual lesson that
 the higher meaning of long life is good life. For this *cf.*
Quis Rerum 290-292. On κυρίως see App. p. 456.

- καὶ ἔκνομος “ οὗτ’ ἐν λόγῳ,” φασίν,¹ “ οὗτ’ ἐν ἀριθμῷ,” τῷ δὲ παιδείας καὶ νόμων ἱερῶν μεταποιουμένῳ πρώτη χάρις ἐστὶν ἐλλογίμῳ καὶ δοκίμῳ
- 112 φανέντι μεταλαχεῖν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τάξεως. ὑπερφυῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἡ πλήρωσις οὐ μηνῶν ἢ ἐνιαυτῶν ἀλλ’ ἡμερῶν, ὥς δέον ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τοῦ σπουδαίου μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν εἶναι εἰς πάροδον ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ διαστήμασιν ἑαυτῆς καλοκαγαθίας πεπληρωθῆναι· κρίνεται γὰρ οὐ ποσότητι ἀλλὰ ποιότητι ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸ καλόν. ὅθεν ἰσότημον καλῶ² βίῳ σοφοῦ καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι κατορθουμένην.
- 113 τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὃ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αἰνίττεται φάσκων εὐλογίας ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι καὶ εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα, διότι πάσαις μὲν ταῖς κινήσεσι πάσαις δὲ ταῖς σχέσεσιν ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐπαινετός, ἔνδον τε καὶ ἔξω, πολιτικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμος, ὥς τὰ μὲν ἔνδον ἐξορθοῦν οἰκονομικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἔξω
- 114 πολιτικῶς, ἥ συμφέρον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ τυγχάνη τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐν πόλει, τῆς πόλεως ὑπεράνω φανεῖται, εἰ μὲν δὲ πόλιν, τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ χώρας, εἰ μὲν δὲ ἔθνος, ἐπιβήσεται πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ὥσπερ κεφαλὴ σώματι τοῦ περιφαίνεσθαι χάριν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ὁρώντων ὠφελείας· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς τῶν καλῶν παραδειγμάτων φαντασίαι παραπλησίως εἰκόνας ἐγχαράττουσι ταῖς μὴ πάνυ σκληραῖς καὶ ἀποκρό-
- 115 τοις ψυχαῖς. ὅθεν εἴρηται πρὸς τοὺς ἐθέ-

¹ mss. φησίν.

² Clearly a mistake of the scribe, presumably for ὄλῳ, or possibly for καὶ (κ’) ὄλῳ, though the double καὶ = “also” would be rather heavy.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 111-115

account, as they say, and has no number,^a but he who can lay claim to instruction and holy laws has for his first boon that he is seen to be of high account and well approved and therefore gains a number and a place in an ordered line. Marvellously apt too is the phrase that the fulfilment is not of months or years but of days, signifying that every day of the man of worth must leave nothing void or empty where sin can come in, but have every part and space in it filled up with virtuous and excellent living,^b for virtue and excellence are judged not by quantity but by quality. Therefore he held that the wise man's single day rightly spent is worth a whole life-time.

This is what he suggests in another place where he says that such a man will be worthy of blessing both in his goings out and in his comings in,^c because in all his ways, moving or standing, the good man shows his merit both inside and outside, both as householder and as statesman, his household skill shown in right management within, his statesmanship in outside reforms as the welfare of the state requires. So then one such man in a city, if such be found, will be superior to the city, one such city to the country around, one such nation will stand above other nations, as the head above the body, to be conspicuous on every side, not for its own glory but rather for the benefit of the beholders. For to gaze continuously upon noble models imprints their likeness in souls which are not entirely hardened and stony.

And therefore those who would imitate these

^a See App. p. 457.

^b The next words show that Philo wishes to emphasize both parts of *καλοκάγαθία*.

^c Deut. xxviii. 6.

- λοντας μιμείσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ θαυμαστὰ κάλλη
 μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν¹ τὴν ἀμείνω μεταβολὴν μηδὲ τὴν
 ὥσπερ ἐκ διασπορᾶς ψυχικῆς ἦν εἰργάσατο κακία
 116 πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν ἐπάνοδον· ἵλεως γὰρ ὅταν
 [427] ἦ ὁ θεός, ἐξευμαρίζεται πάντα. | γίνεται δὲ ἵλεως
 τοῖς αἰδουμένοις καὶ μεθορμιζομένοις ἐξ ἀκрасίας
 εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ὑπαιτίου ζωῆς κακί-
 ζουσι καὶ ὅσα ἐναπεμάξαντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς αἰσχροῖς
 εἶδωλα μυσαττομένοις, εὐδὶαν δὲ παθῶν ἐξηλωκόσι
 117 καὶ γαλήνην καὶ εἰρήνην βίου μετατρέχουσι. καθ-
 ἄπερ οὖν ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἀπωκισμένους
 ῥαδίως <ἂν> ἐνὶ κελεύσματι συναγάγοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ
 περάτων εἰς ὃ τι ἂν θελήσῃ χωρίον, οὕτω καὶ τὸν
 νοῦν ἐξ ἄλλης πολυχρονίου πάντῃ πλανηθέντα καὶ
 κακωθέντα πρὸς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, δεσποινῶν
 ἐκτετιμημένων,² ἐλεῶν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐξ ἀνοδίας εἰς ὁδὸν
 εὐπετῶς ἂν ἀγάγοι, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν διεγνω-
 κότα φυγὴν, οὐ τὴν ἐπονείδιστον λεγομένην, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν σωτήριον, ἣν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι λέγων καθόδου
 κρείττονα.
- 118 XX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ εἴρηται, νῦν καὶ κατ'
 ἐχθρῶν, κράτη πολέμων, εἰρήνης βεβαιώσεις³ καὶ
 τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην ἀγαθῶν περιουσίαι, πλοῦτοι καὶ

¹ MSS. ἀπογινώσκεισθαι.

² So one ms. The others ἐκτετιμημένων or ἐκτεταμένων. Mangey adopted the last and translated "infensus," but ἐκτείνω cannot have this meaning. But neither does ἐκτετιμημένων give a meaning which is very appropriate here. Possibly <καὶ> ἐκτεταμένον = "tortured," a meaning more commonly given to ἐπιτείνω, but also to ἐκτείνω. Cf. δέσποιναι . . . κατατείνουσι, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 82.

³ MSS. βεβαιώσεις.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 115-118

examples of good living so marvellous in their loveliness, are bidden not to despair of changing for the better or of a restoration to the land of wisdom and virtue from the spiritual dispersion^a which vice has wrought. For when God is gracious He makes all 116 things light and easy, and He does become gracious to those who depart with shame from incontinence to self-restraint and deplore the deeds of their guilty past, abhor the base illusive images which they imprinted on their souls and first^b earnestly strive to still the storm of the passions, then seek to lead a life of serenity and peace. So then just as 117 God with a single call may easily gather together from the ends of the earth to any place that He wills the exiles dwelling in the utmost parts of the earth, so too the mind which has strayed everywhere in prolonged vagrancy, maltreated by pleasure and lust, the mistresses it honoured so unduly, may well be brought back by the mercy of its Saviour from the pathless wild into a road wherein it is resolved to flee straight on, a flight not the discredited flight of the outcast, but a flight of one banished from evil to salvation, a banishment which may be truly held to be better than a recall.^c

XX. So much for the external blessings promised, 118 victories over enemies, successes in wars, establishments of peace and abundant supplies of the good

^a Evidently an allegorization of Deut. xxx. 4 "if thy dispersion (*διασπορά*, E.V. thy outcasts) be from one end of heaven to the other, the Lord will gather thee thence."

^b This is perhaps implied by the change from the perfect *ἐξηλακόσι* to the present *μετατρέχουσι*.

^c Philo combines the two senses of *φυγή*, "escape" and "banishment"; cf. note to *De Fuga* 118. The translation is somewhat expanded to bring this out.

- τιμαὶ καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ παρεπόμενα τοῖς εὖ πράτ-
 τουσιν ἐγκώμια, διὰ παντὸς στόματος καὶ φίλων
 καὶ δυσμενῶν ἐπαινουμένοις, τῶν μὲν διὰ φόβον,
 τῶν δὲ δι' εὐνοίαν· λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων
- 119 οἰκειότερα, τὰ περὶ σῶμα. φησὶν οὖν, ὅτι τοῖς
 ἀρετὴν διαπονοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους ἡγεμόνας
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον λόγων καὶ ἔργων προστῆσα-
 μένοις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ περιέσται τὸ εἰς ἅπαν
 ἄνοσον· εἰ δὲ καὶ γένοιτό τις ἀσθένεια, τοῦ μὲν
 κακῶσαι χάριν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, τοῦ δ' ὑπομῆσαι
 τὸν θνητὸν ὅτι θνητός ἐστιν, εἰς ὑπεραύχου φρονή-
 ματος κατάλυσιν καὶ βελτίωσιν ἡθῶν· ὑγεία δ'
 ἔψεται καὶ εὐαισθησία καὶ τὸ ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς μέρεσιν
 ὁλόκληρον καὶ παντελές, εἰς τὰς πρὸς ὃ γέγονεν
- 120 ἕκαστον ἀκωλύτους ὑπηρεσίας. ἐδικαίωσε γὰρ ὁ
 θεὸς γέρας τῷ σπουδαίῳ παρασχεῖν εὖ συνωκοδο-
 μημένην καὶ συνηρμοσμένην ἐκ θεμελίων ἄχρι
 στέγους οἰκίαν—οἰκία δὲ ψυχῆς συμφυεστάτῃ σῶμα
 —διὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ βίον ἀναγκαίων καὶ
 χρησίμων καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τόνδε τὸν καθάρσει
- 121 τελείαις νοῦν καθαρθέντα· <ὄν> καὶ μύστην γεγο-
 νότα τῶν θείων τελετῶν καὶ συμπεριπολοῦντα ταῖς
 τῶν οὐρανίων χορείαις καὶ περιόδοις ἐγέραρεν ὁ

^a i.e. the bodily is more akin to the man than the external. But very possibly "more akin to these." If so, the comparative means "more akin than those of the soul." The three forms of the good are such a familiar idea, that this might be understood.

^b Deut. vii. 15, there promised absolutely. Philo feels the necessity to qualify it by the possibility of sickness sent as a trial or warning, and to justify it by the need of bodily tranquillity for the working of the good mind. See General Introduction, p. xxi.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 118-121

things of peace, honours and offices and the eulogies accompanying the successful, who receive praise from the lips of all, friends and enemies, praises prompted by goodwill in the one case and by fear in the other. But we must also speak of a more personal^a matter, the blessings bestowed on the body. He promises that those who take pains to cultivate 119 virtue and set the holy laws before them to guide them in all they do or say in their private or in their public capacity will receive as well the gift of complete freedom from disease,^b and if some infirmity should befall them it will come not to do them injury but to remind the mortal that he is mortal, to humble his over-weening spirit and to improve his moral condition. Health will be followed by efficiency of the senses and the perfection and completeness of every part, so that without impediment they may render each the services for which it was made. For God thought it meet to 120 grant as a privilege to the man of worth that his body, the congenital^c house of the soul, should be a house well built and well compacted from foundation to roof, to provide the many things which are necessary or useful for life and particularly for the sake of the mind of which we are speaking, a^d mind purged clean of every spot. This mind, the initiate of the holy mysteries, the 121 fellow traveller of the heavenly bodies as they revolve in ordered march, has been honoured with the gift of

^c Perhaps "congenital and lifelong" may better express the superlative.

^d Not, I think, as Cohn "*our* mind," *i.e.* the human mind generally, but the mind of the *σπουδαῖος*, which for the rest of the Blessings becomes the true Israel to which the Blessings are addressed.

- θεὸς ἡρεμία, βουληθεὶς ἀμέθελκτον¹ εἶναι, κηραίνοντα περὶ μηδὲν πάθος ὧν αἱ τοῦ σώματος γεννώσιν ἀνάγκαι² ἐπιτιθέμεναι κατὰ πλεονεξίαν παθῶν
- [428] δυναστείας· | εἰ γὰρ περιέψυξέ τι ἢ περιέφλεξεν, αὖτον καὶ αὐχμηρὸν ἢ τοῦναντίον ῥοῶδες ἀπειργάσατο³. δι' ὧν ἀπάντων ὁ νοῦς εὐθύνειν ἀδυνατεῖ
- 122 τὴν τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν βίου παρείαν. ἐνδαισιώμενος δὲ ὑγιεινῷ σώματι κατὰ πολλὴν εὐμάρειαν ἐνδιατρίψει καὶ ἐνσχολάσει τοῖς σοφίας θεωρήμασι, μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ζωῆς ἐπιλαχών· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολὺν ἄκρατον σπάσας τῆς εὐεργέτιδος τοῦ θεοῦ
- 123 θείας· οὗτος ὧ φησιν ὁ προφήτης τὸν θεὸν “ἐμπεριπατεῖν” οἷα βασιλείῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι βασιλείῳ καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια· τούτου καλεῖται θεὸς ἰδίως ὁ τῶν συμπάντων θεός, καὶ λαὸς ἐξαιρετός· πάλιν οὗτος, οὐ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀρχόντων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄρ-
- 124 χοντος, ἁγίου ἁγίος· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ πολλαῖς μὲν ἡδοναῖς, πολλαῖς δ' ἐπιθυμίαις, μυρίαις δ' ἀνάγκαις κακιῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὑπεξευγμένος·

¹ So Mangey for mss. ἀμέθεκτον, which Cohn retains, supposing some such word as νόσων to have fallen out. ἀμέθεκτον has been used in the adverbial form in *De Fuga* 92, and here makes excellent sense.

² Ἀ ἀνάγκαι (omitting γεννώσιν). The others γεννώσι δυνάμεις.

³ The text is uncertain and that adopted here may not meet with general acceptance. The majority of mss. have ἢ γὰρ περιέψυξέ τις ἢ περιέφλεξεν αὖτον καὶ αὐχμηρὸν ἢ τοῦναντίον ῥοῶδες ἀπειργάσατο. A has τι for τις and οὐρανός for αὖτον. The first is not intelligible as it stands, and I have corrected ἢ to εἰ and τις to τι. The second is adopted by Mangey. Cohn expunges both αὖτον and οὐρανός, holding that αὖτον was a gloss on αὐχμηρὸν and was subsequently corrupted to οὐνός

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 121-124

quietude by God, who willed that it should be undistracted, never affected by any of the troublesome sensations which the distresses^a of the body engender, subjecting it to a domination unduly usurped by such sensations.^b For if anything over-chills or over-heats it, the house becomes warped and dried up or contrariwise wet and damp, and all these make the mind incapable of guiding the course of its own life aright. But if it resides in a healthy body it will have full 122 ease to live there devoting its leisure to the lore of wisdom, thus gaining a blessed and happy life. This mind it is that drinks deep of the strong wine of God's beneficent power and feasts on holy thoughts and doctrines. This it is in which God, so says the 123 prophet, "walks"^c as in a palace, for in truth the wise man's mind is a palace and house of God. This it is which is declared to possess personally the God who is the God of all, this again is the chosen people, the people not of particular rulers, but of the one and only true ruler, a people holy even as He is holy. This it is which but now lay under the yoke of many 124 pleasures and many lusts and the innumerable distresses which its vices and lusts entail, but has been

^a Or "necessities."

^b More literally "laying upon it through greed the domination of the *πάθη*" (here of course not used in the ordinary sense in Philo of the "passions"). But the middle *ἐπιθέμεναι* and the repetition of *πάθη* seem to me strange.

^c Lev. xxvi. 12. E.V. "walk among you." See App. p. 457.

= *οὐρανός*. He rather strangely says that *οὐρανός* makes no sense. Assuming that Philo is continuing the figure of the house, to which the terms are surely more applicable than to the body, *οὐρανός* = "weather" makes good sense and I should be willing to accept it *in addition to* *αἶον*.

- τούτου τὰ κακὰ τῆς δουλείας συνέτρυψεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρούμενος· οὗτος ὁ μὴ ἀπαρρησιάστου τυχὼν εὐεργεσίας ἀλλὰ διαβεβοημένης καὶ περιηγγελμένης πάντῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ προασπίζοντος ἐξουσίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐχ ὑπεσύρη πρὸς τὰ οὐραῖα, ἀλλ' 125 ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἄνω παρεπέμφθη. ταῦτα δ' ἀλληγορεῖται τροπικῶς ἐξενεχθέντα· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ζώῳ κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἄριστον, οὐρὰ δ' ὑστατον καὶ φαυλότατον, οὐ μέρος συνεκπληροῦν τὸν τῶν μελῶν ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ σόβησις τῶν ἐπιποτωμένων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κεφαλὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἔσεσθαι φησι τὸν σπουδαῖον εἴτε ἄνδρα εἴτε λαόν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἷον μέρη σώματος ψυχούμενα ταῖς ἐν κεφαλῇ καὶ ὑπεράνω δυνάμεσιν.
- 126 Αὗται μὲν αἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰσιν εὐχαὶ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔργοις ἐπιτελούντων, ἃς φησι τελεσφορηθήσεσθαι χάριτι τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ τὰ καλὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητα σεμνοποιοῦντος καὶ γεραίροντος· τὰς δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐκνόμων καὶ ἀθέσμων ὀρισθείσας ἀρὰς ἐπισκεπτέον.

Περὶ ἀρῶν

- [429] XXI. | Πρώτην ἀρὰν ὡς κουφότατον κακὸν ἀνα-
127 γράφει πενίαν καὶ ἔνδειαν καὶ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μετουσίαν παντελοῦς ἀπορίας· τὸν

^a Lev. xxvi. 13 "who brought you out of the land of Egypt when you were slaves, and I broke the bond of your yoke."

^b So the LXX continuing the verse "and I brought you with open speech," *μετὰ παρρησίας* (E.V. "and made you go upright").

^c Deut. xxviii. 13, cf. v. 44.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 124-127

redeemed into freedom by God, who broke asunder the miseries of its slavery.^a This it is which received a benefaction not named with bated breath^b but noised abroad and proclaimed on every side because of the mightiness of its champion, whereby it was not dragged down tailwards but lifted up to the head.^c These last words contain an allegory and are figuratively expressed. For as in an animal the head is the first and best part and the tail the last and meanest, and in fact not a part which helps to complete the list of members, but a means of swishing off the winged creatures which settle on it, so too he means that the virtuous one, whether single man or people, will be the head of the human race and all the others like the limbs of a body which draw their life from the forces in the head and at the top.^d 125

These are the blessings invoked upon good men, 126 men who fulfil the laws by their deeds, which blessings will be accomplished by the gift of the bounteous God, who glorifies and rewards moral excellence because of its likeness to Himself. We must now investigate the curses delivered against the law-breakers and transgressors.

On Curses

XXI. The first curse which he describes as the 127 lightest of their evils is poverty and dearth and lack of necessities and conditions of absolute destitution.

^a The allegorical meaning seems to be that while the *σπονδαῖος* is the source of spiritual life to all who, though not of his excellence, are true members of the body, the transgressors have no part in this life, but are only a slavish instrument, for what purpose is not stated.

- γὰρ σπόρον, φησίν, ἀτελῇ μὲν ὄντα δηώσουσι, τελειωθέντα δ' ἀμήσουσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντες πολέμιοι, διττὴν ἐργασάμενον¹ συμφοράν, λιμὸν μὲν φίλοις, ἐχθροῖς δὲ περιουσίαν· λυπεῖ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ιδίων κακῶν τῶν δυσμενῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ. καὶ ἡσυχάζοντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐχ ἡσυχάσουσιν αἱ ἐκ φύσεως ἀργαλεώτεραι ζημίαι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ κατασπείρεις τὴν βαθύγειον τῆς πεδιάδος, ἀκρίδων δὲ νέφος ἐξαίφνης καταπτάμενον ἐκθερίσει καὶ τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα πολλοστὸν εἰς συγκομιδὴν ἔσται μέρος τῶν σπαρέντων· καὶ σὺ μὲν ἀμπελῶνα φυτεύεις δαπάναις ἀφειδέσει <καὶ> κακοπαθείαις ἀτρύτοις, ἃς εἰκὸς γεωπόνους ἀναδέχεσθαι, τελειωθέντα δὲ ἤδη καὶ βλαστάνοντα καὶ βρίθοντα ὑπ' εὐφορίας σκώληκες ἐπιγενόμενοι
- 129 τρυγῇσουσι. τοὺς ἐλαιῶνας ὅταν ἴδῃς εὐθηνούντας καὶ καρπῶν ἄφθονον πλῆθος, ἡσθήσῃ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, δι' ἐλπίδα συγκομιδῆς εὐτυχούς, ὅταν δὲ ἄρξῃ συγκομίζειν, αἰσθήσῃ τῆς ἀτυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀσεβείας². τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ ὅσον πῖον ἐκρυσσεται σύμπαν ἀφανῶς, ὃ δ' ἐκτὸς ὄγκος αὐτὸς εἰς ἀπάτην ψυχῆς κενὸς κενῆς ὑπολειφθήσεται. καὶ

¹ So Cohn for mss. ἐργασάμενοι as more logical. I follow him with some doubt.

² For this obvious corruption Cohn suggests ἀφθονίας or εὐθηνίας, but "you expect good fortune, but you will have bad fortune rather than good fortune" is somewhat feeble. I have ventured to translate a conjecture of my own which seems textually no more difficult and gives a better point τῆς <οὐκ> ἀτυχίας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀσεβείας <τιμωρίας>, "you expect good fortune: you will get—not bad fortune, that is not the right word, but," etc. οὐ or μή is so frequently lost in the mss. of Philo that it hardly counts, and the falling out of another word ending in -ias is at least as easy a mistake

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 127-129

The crops, he says, will be ravaged while unripe, or reaped when ripe by the sudden attacks of the hostile army, and thus will bring about a double misfortune, starvation for friends and abundance for enemies.^a For the good fortune of the foe is more or at any rate no less painful than our own suffering. And even if the enemy take no action the more 128 grievous injuries which nature inflicts will not be inactive. You put seed in the deep soil of the lowlands, and a cloud of locusts will suddenly fly down and reap the harvest, leaving only an insignificant fraction of what you sowed for you to gather.^b You plant a vineyard, spare no expense and endure the endless hardships which the husbandman has to expect, and, when it is come to its fullness and is flourishing, laden with a plentiful crop, worms will come and strip the grapes.^c When you see your 129 olive yards thriving with an abundant wealth of fruit you will naturally be pleased at the prospect of a fortunate ingathering, but when you come to pick them you will be faced with misfortune, better called the punishment of impiety.^d For the oil and all the fatness will run out unnoticed,^e and the outer lump will be left by itself as empty of all goodness as the soul which it remains to disappoint. In fact all

^a Lev. xxvi. 16 "ye shall sow your seeds in vain, and your enemy shall eat them.

^b Deut. xxviii. 38.

^c Deut. xxviii. 39.

^d Deut. xxviii. 40.

^e The LXX has ἐλαία (olive tree) ἐκρυσσεται, probably meaning the same as the F.V. "cast its fruit." Philo may have read ἔλαιον, or perhaps made a slip.

as the substitution of an alien and nonsensical word. οὐ . . . μάλλον ἢ for μάλλον δέ constantly recurs in Philo, e.g. § 163.

- συνόλως ὅσα σπαρτὰ ἢ δένδρα καρποῖς αὐτοῖς
 130 ἐξαναλωθήσεται πρὸς ἐρυσίβης. XXII. ἐφεδρεύ-
 ουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι συμφοραὶ δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων,
 ἐνδείας καὶ ἀπορίας δημιουργοί. δι' ὧν γὰρ ἀν-
 θρώποις ἢ φύσις ἐχορήγει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, στερωθή-
 σεται, γῆ καὶ οὐρανός, ἢ μὲν ἀμβλίσκουσα καὶ
 τελειογονεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσα τοὺς καρπούς, ὁ δὲ μετα-
 βεβηκώς εἰς ἀγονίαν, τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων μὴ
 χειμῶνος, μὴ θέρους, μὴ ἔαρος, μὴ μετοπώρου
 πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας τάξεις ἀνιόντων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄποιον
 καὶ πεφορημένην σύγκρισιν βιασθέντων ἀποκριθῆναι
 131 δεσποτικοῦ κράτους ἀρχῇ. οὐ γὰρ ὄμβρος, οὐχ
 ὑετός, οὐ λεπτή ψεκάς, οὐ βραχεῖα λιβάς, οὐ δρό-
 σος, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὔξειν δυναμένων ἐπιγενή-
 σεται, τοῦναντίον δὲ ὅσα λυμαντικὰ μὲν φυομένων,
 φθοροποιὰ δὲ καρπῶν καταπεπανθέντων καὶ ἵνα μὴ
 τελειωθῇ παρεσκευασμένα. “θῆσω” γάρ φησι
 “τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑμῖν χαλκοῦν καὶ τὴν γῆν σιδηρᾶν,”
 [430] αἰνιττόμενος τὸ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν | τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ
 132 πρὸς ἃ γέγονεν ἐπιτελέσειν ἔργα. ποῦ γὰρ ἢ σίδηρος
 ἔσταχυηφόρησεν ἢ ὑετὸν ἤνεγκε χαλκός, ὧν χρεῖα
 τὰ ζῶα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ πολλῶν
 ἐπιδεές, ἄνθρωπος; μηνύει δ' οὐ μόνον ἀφορίαν
 καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων φθοράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέμων
 γενέσεις καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀφορήτων καὶ ἀμυθή-
 των κακῶν· χαλκὸς γὰρ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμιστηρίων

^a Deut. xxviii. 42. For the LXX ἐρυσίβη, “mildew” the E.V. has “locusts.”

^b ἀποκρίνειν, “to sift off,” seems to be used in the same way as in Mos. ii. 180 ἀμφοτέρων εἰς μίαν ἰδέαν ἀποκριθέντων,

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 129-132

the crops which you sow or the trees which you plant will be mildewed and perish with their fruits.^a XXII. But besides these there are other sufferings 130 waiting their turn to create want and destitution. The sources which nature uses to bestow her boons on mankind, earth and heaven, will become barren. Earth will destroy her fruit in the germ and prove unable to bring them to their fullness. Heaven will be transformed into sterility, as none of the yearly seasons, neither winter nor summer, nor spring nor autumn arise to take their proper places but all are forcibly merged^b in formless turbid^c congeries by the dictation of an imperious power. For no down- 131 pour, no shower, no slight drizzle nor tiny dropping, no dew nor anything else that can promote growth will come. But on the contrary all that makes havoc of growing plants or destroys the ripened fruit will be provided to hinder them from coming to their perfection. For He says "I will make the heaven brazen to you and the earth iron,"^d indicating that both of them will fail to perform their proper functions for which they were made. For when did 132 ever iron bear corn in the ear or brass bring rain, things necessary to all living creatures and particularly to men, whose life is precarious and full of needs? And the phrase suggests not only unfruitfulness and the ruin of the yearly seasons but also the sources of war and the intolerable and innumerable evils which war creates, for brass and iron are the materials from which the weapons of war are

cf. also *Spec. Leg.* i. 218, *De Som.* i. 210. Cohn strangely translates "will pass into each other or separate."

^c Or "unstable," *cf.* its application to the profligate, *De Fug.* 28, and the multitude, *De Ebr.* 198.

^d Lev. xxvi. 19, Deut. xxviii. 23.

133 ὄπλων ὕλαι. καὶ γῇ μέντοι κονιορτὸν οἷσει καὶ
 χοῦς ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταχθήσεται βαρύτατον
 ἐπιφέρων καρπὸν¹ εἰς τὴν διὰ πνίγους ἀπώλειαν, ἵνα
 μηδὲν παραλειφθῇ τῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ. πολυάνθρωποι
 μὲν ἐρημωθήσονται συγγένειαι, κεναὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις
 ἑξαπιναίως οἰκητόρων ἔσονται, μνημεῖα παλαιᾶς
 μὲν εὐτυχίας προσκαίρου δὲ βαρυδαιμονίας ὑπο-
 λειφθεῖσαι πρὸς νουθεσίαν τῶν δυναμένων σω-
 φρονίζεσθαι.

134 XXIII. Τοσαύτη δὲ ἐφέξει σπάνις τῶν ἀναγ-
 καίων, ὥστε ἀλλοτριωθέντες τούτων τρέφονται ἐπ'
 ἀλληλοφαγίας, οὐ μόνον ὀθνείων καὶ μηδὲν προσ-
 ηκόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλάτων.
 ἄψεται γὰρ καὶ πατὴρ υἱοῦ σαρκῶν καὶ μήτηρ
 σπλάγχχνων θυγατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ
 γονέων παῖδες· αἰεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν δυνατω-
 τέρων κακαὶ καὶ ἐπάρατοι τροφαί· τὰ Θυέστεια
 παιδιὰ [καὶ] συγκρινόμενα ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν
 135 συμφορῶν, ὥς μεγαλουργήσουσιν οἱ καιροί. μετὰ
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐν εὐτυχίαις ποθεινὸς ὁ
 βίος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς βαρυ-

¹ For the corrupt *καρπὸν* Cohn suggests *κακὸν*. The translation again takes a very tentative guess of my own, *καπνὸν*, which in form suits well, and smoke does choke. But I do not know of any example of *καπνός* apart from fire. Philo, however, is transcribing the LXX, and we do not know what conception he formed of the *χοῦς* coming down from heaven. He may have connected it with the fiery rain of Gen. xix.

^a Deut. xxviii. 24 "The Lord make the rain of thy land dust (*κονιορτος*), and dust (*χοῦς*) shall come down from heaven." In E.V. "powder and dust; from heaven shall it (apparently both) come down upon thee."

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 133-135

made. Earth too will bear dust, and powder will 133
descend from Heaven^a above, bringing a very grie-
vous cloud of smoke to choke^b and destroy life, and
so no instrument of extinction will be left unused.
Whole families will waste away from many into
nothingness, cities will be suddenly left stripped of
inhabitants,^c monuments of their past prosperity and
the misery that swiftly followed,^d left to admonish
those who can learn their lesson of wisdom.

XXIII. So greatly will the lack of necessities pre- 134
vail that dismissing all thought of them they will
betake themselves to feeding on their own kind,
not only on strangers outside their family but on
their nearest and dearest.^e The father will lay his
hands on the flesh of his son, the mother on the en-
trail of her daughter, brothers on brothers, children
on parents, and always the weaker will supply an
evil and accursed meal to the stronger. The story
of Thyestes^f will be child's play compared with the
monstrous calamities which those times of terror will
bring about. For apart from all else, just as the 135
prosperous desire life to enjoy their blessings, so

^b Or "to destroy by stifling heat (*πνίγος*). So Cohn
("Glut"). It is true that in all the examples of *πνίγος* quoted
in the Lexicon, it is applied to the effects of heat, but this
does not prove that it may not sometimes have retained its
original general meaning.

^c Lev. xxvi. 31.

^d So Mangey "mox secutae," cf. *ἐξαπναιούς*, § 150. But I
cannot find any authority for this use of *πρόσκαιρος*, which
regularly means "for the occasion" or "transient." This is
impossible here, for Philo cannot be referring here to the
restoration of the penitent. Mangey proposed omitting
βαρυσταμονίας, but surely Philo would have written the words
in a different order.

^e For this section see Lev. xxvi. 29, Deut. xxviii. 53-57.

^f Atreus murdered the two sons of his brother Thyestes,
and dressed and served up their flesh to their father.

- δαίμοσιν ἐκείνοις ἔρως πολὺς ἐνιδρυθήσεται τοῦ
 ζῆν πρὸς ἀμέτρων καὶ ἀπαύστων κακῶν μετουσίαν,
 ἀπάντων ἀνιάτων. ἦττον γὰρ <χαλεπὸν>¹ ἀπαλγή-
 σαντας ἐπιτεμεῖν θανάτῳ τὰς ἀνίας, ὃ τοῖς μὴ λίαν
 φρενοβλαβέσιν ἔθος δρᾶν· οἱ δ' ἐκ παραπληξίας
 ἐθέλοιεν ἂν καὶ μακροβιώτατοι γενέσθαι, τῆς ἀνω-
 τάτῳ βαρυδαιμονίας ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀκορέστως
 136 ἔχοντες. τοιαῦτα τὸ κουφότατον εἶναι δοκοῦν τῶν
 κακῶν, ἀπορία, προσεργάζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ὅταν
 θεήλατος ἐπάγῃται δίκη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ χαλεπὰ ῥίγος,
 δῖψος, ἔνδεια τροφῆς, ἀλλ' εὐκταϊότατα γένοιτ' ἂν
 ἐπὶ καιρῶν, εἰ μόνον ἀνυπέρθετον φθορὰν ἐργά-
 σοιτο². χρονίζοντα δὲ καὶ τήκοντα ψυχὴν τε καὶ
 σῶμα τῶν τετραγωδημένων, ἃ δι' ὑπερβολὰς με-
 μυθεῦσθαι δοκεῖ, βαρύτερα πέφυκε καινουργεῖν.
- 137 XXIV. Δουλεία τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀφορητότατόν
 ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ ἧς σπουδάζουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν οἱ σώ-
 [431] φρονες | ἀγωνιζόμενοι φιλοκινδύνως πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐπανατεινόμενους δεσποτεῖαν· ἀφόρητον δὲ καὶ
 ἐχθρὸς ἄμαχος· εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφότερα γένοιτο,
 δεσπότης ὁμοῦ καὶ πολέμοις, τίς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ <τὸν>
 τὸ μὲν δύνασθαι ἀδικεῖν ἐκ δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸ
 δὲ μηδὲν συγγινώσκειν ἐξ ἀσυμβάτου δυσμενείας
 138 περιπεποιημένον; ἐχθροῖς οὖν φῃσι δεσπόταις εἰς

¹ Cohn's insertion. I doubt its necessity: ἦττον, in itself "a smaller thing," can = "easier."

² Cohn, though printing ἐργάσοιτο, suggested ἐργάσαιτο. But the future optative representing Oratio Obliqua seems more effective.

^a There is no authority in Leviticus or Deuteronomy for these two sections. Philo is perhaps so familiar with suicide as a way of escaping misery that he feels that the curse to be complete must include inability to make use of it.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 135-138

too these wretches will have firmly implanted in them a great longing for survival to experience miseries measureless and ceaseless all beyond hope of cure.^a For it would be a comparatively small matter in their desperation to cut short their afflictions by death, a course often taken by those who have a little sanity left. But these sufferers in their infatuation will wish to prolong their life to the utmost, and their appetite for supreme misery is never satisfied. Such are the natural consequences 136 of what appears to be the lightest of the calamities promised, destitution, when it comes as a visitation of divine justice. For cold and thirst and want of food are hard to bear but may on occasions be most earnestly desired, if we feel that they will only entail undelayed annihilation, but when they linger and waste both soul and body they are bound to produce marvels of suffering worse even than those which, doubtless because they are so intensely painful,^b are represented on the tragic stage.

XXIV. Slavery to the free is a thing most intoler- 137 able. To avoid it sensible people are eager and ready to die and gladly run any risk in contending with those who menace them with enslavement. But an irresistible enemy is also something intolerable, and when both despotic power and hostility are combined in the same person, who can resist one to whom his authority has given the power to act unjustly and his implacable enmity the disposition to show no consideration? So he declares that those who set at 138

^b The translation takes *μυθεύω* in the sense of "to tell" (a myth), Cohn as "invent," and *δι' ὑπερβολάς* as desire for the hyperbolic. This does not seem to me to suit the plural.

τὸ ἀνηλεὲς χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀλογοῦντας νόμων
 ἱερῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῆς ἐκείνων ὑπ-
 αχθέντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμαις¹ ἑκουσίοις ἐκδόντας
 αὐτοὺς ἔνεκα τῶν ἀβουλήτων, ἃ λιμὸς καὶ σπάνις
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεργάζεται· τὰ γὰρ ἐλάττω κακὰ
 φυγῇ μειζόνων αἰρετὰ νομίζουσιν τινες, εἰ δὴ τι
 139 βραχὺ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστί. δουλεύοντες <γὰρ>
 πικρῶν μὲν ἐπιταγμάτων ὑπηρεσίας ἀναδέχονται
 τοῖς σώμασι, πικροτέρων δὲ θεαμάτων ἀνίαις κατα-
 τεινόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπαγορεύουσιν· ὄψονται γὰρ
 ὧν συνωκοδόμησαν ἢ κατεφύτευσαν ἢ περιποιή-
 σαντο κληρονόμους γεγονότας ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλοτρίων
 ἀπολαύοντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐτοίμων· ὄψονται καὶ τὰ
 πίονα τῶν ἰδίων θρεμμάτων εὐωχουμένους, ἱερεύ-
 οντας² καὶ παραρτύοντας εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην, οἱ
 στερόμενοι τοὺς ἀφελομένους³. ὄψονται καὶ γυναι-
 κας, ἃς ἡγάγοντο κουριδίας ἐπὶ γνησίων παίδων
 σπορά, σώφρονας <καὶ> οἰκουροὺς καὶ φιλάνδρους
 140 ἑταιρῶν τρόπον ὑβριζομένας. καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἄμυναν
 ὀρμήσουσιν, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ σφαδάζειν οὐδὲν ἐργάσα-
 σθαι δυνήσονται πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν ἐκτετμημένοι καὶ
 ἐκνεενυρισμένοι· προκείσονται γὰρ σκοποὶ τοῖς ἐθέ-

¹ MSS. νόμοις.² MSS. ἱεροῦντας.³ MSS. τοῖς ἀφελομένοις.

^a Deut. xxviii. 48 "Thou shalt serve thy enemies . . . in hunger and thirst, and in nakedness, and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck."

^b Philo may perhaps obtain this by taking v. 48 to mean "in your hunger, etc., you will become servants to your

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 138-140

nought the holy laws will have for their masters enemies who do not shrink from ruthlessness.^a And not only will they be brought into subjection by the aggressiveness of the enemy but will voluntarily and deliberately surrender themselves because of the distresses which hunger and lack of necessities produce.^b For, in the opinion of some, lesser evils may be accepted to escape from the greater, though indeed is any of those here mentioned small? For 139 in slavery their bodies will be exercised in doing service to cruel orders and still more cruel will be the distressing sights which will torture their souls and drive them to despair.^c They will see what they have built or planted or acquired become the heritage of enemies who enjoy the good things which others have owned and made ready. They will see them feasting on the fattest of their own cattle, slaughtered and dressed to give high delight and enjoyment to the robbers before the eyes of the robbed. They will see too the women whom they took in lawful wedlock for the procreation of true-born children, chaste domestic loving wives, outraged as though they were harlots. They will set about to defend them but 140 apart from some struggling will be able to accomplish nothing, with their strength all gelded and their nerves unstrung.^d For they will present targets to

enemies." In *v.* 68 the E.V. has "you will sell yourselves," but the LXX is passive "you will be sold." Some texts have "thou shalt put a yoke." If Philo read this, it would assist the idea.

^c Deut. xxviii. 34 "Thou shalt be distraught (*παράπληκτος*) because of the sights of thine eyes which thou shalt see." The next two sentences reproduce *vv.* 30-31.

^d Perhaps based on *v.* 32 "thy hand shall not be strong." E.V. "there shall be nought in the power of thy hand."

λουσιν ἄγειν, φέρειν, ἀρπάζειν, ὑβρίζειν, τιτρώ-
σκειν, εἰς βλάβας, εἰς αἰκίας, εἰς πανωλεθρίαν, ὡς
μηδὲν ἀφεθῆναι τῶν βλημάτων κωφόν, ἀλλ' εὖσκοπα
καὶ εὖστοχα πάντα.

- 141 Ἐπάρατοι μὲν ἐν πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις, ἐπάρατοι δ'
ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπαύλεσιν ἔσονται· ἐπάρατος μὲν ἡ
πεδιάς καὶ ὅσα κατεβλήθη σπέρματα, ἐπάρατος δὲ
ἡ βαθύγειος τῆς ὀρεινῆς καὶ ὅσα γένη δένδρων
ἡμέρων· ἐπάρατοι τῶν θρεμμάτων αἱ ἀγέλαι, στει-
ρωθήσονται γὰρ πρὸς ἀγονίαν· ἐπάρατοι πάντες οἱ
καρποί, τῷ γὰρ καιριωτάτῳ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀνεμό-
142 φθοροὶ γενήσονται. τὰ πλήρη ταμεῖα τροφῶν καὶ
χρημάτων κενωθήσεται¹. πόρος οὐδεὶς εὐοδήσει,²
τέχνη πᾶσαι, πραγματεῖαι πολύτροποι, βίων ἰδέαι
μυρίων τοῖς χρωμένοις οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἀτελεῖς γὰρ
[432] αἱ τῶν σπουδαζομένων | ἐλπίδες ἔσονται καὶ συν-
όλως ὅτου ἐφάψονται διὰ πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
ἢ ἔργων, ὧν κεφαλὴ καὶ τέλος ἀπόλεις θεραπείας
θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας ἐπίχειρα
ταῦτα.

- 143 XXV. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ σωματικαὶ νόσοι
μέλος ἕκαστον καὶ μέρος ἰδίᾳ κατεργαζόμεναι καὶ
διεσθίουσαι καὶ πάλιν ὅλα δι' ὅλων καταξαίνουσαι,
πυρετοῖς, ρίγεσι, φθινάσι τηκεδόσι, ψώρας ἀγρίαις,

¹ MSS. κενωθήσονται.

² MSS. εὐοδώσει.

^a The next two sections are a development of Deut. xxviii.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 140-143

all who wish to ravish, harry, rob, assault, wound and deal out injuries, outrage and destruction. No shaft will fall lame or impotent ; a true eye and hand will carry them all to their mark.

^a Cursed will they be in their cities and villages, 141
cursed in their houses and farm buildings. Cursed
will be the field and all the seed dropped therein,
cursed the fertile parts of the uplands and every kind
of cultivated tree. Cursed their herds of cattle,
barren without hope of increase, cursed all their
fruits, blasted at the very height of their ripening.
Their store-houses full of provisions and money will 142
become empty ; no profit-seeking trade will flourish ;
all the crafts, the many-sided industries, the million
ways of earning a livelihood, will prove useless to
those who pursue them. Their hopes of attaining
their ambition and in general everything which they
take in hand will be frustrated by the evil practices
or actions which their abandonment of God's service
heads and consummates. For these are the wages
of impiety and disobedience.

XXV. ^b Besides all this diseases of the body will 143
overpower and devour each separate limb and part,
as well as tearing the whole frame right through with
hot fits, cold fits, wasting consumption, malignant

16-19, the last part of § 142 interpreting "cursed shalt thou be in thy coming in and going out." Cf. his interpretation of that phrase in the Blessings 113. The last words are a close reminiscence of *v.* 20 "because of thy evil practices (*πονηρὰ ἐπιτηδέυματα*) and because thou hast forsaken (*ἐγκατέλιπες*) me."

^b The bodily curses are mainly based with much expansion on Deut. xxviii. 22, 27, 35, and Lev. xxvi. 16. The terms *ἰκτερος*, *σφακελίζω*, *τηκεδών* come from Leviticus, and *πυρετός*, *ῥίγος*, *ψώρα* *ἀγρία*, *ἔλκος* from Deuteronomy.

ἱκτέροις, σφακελίζουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς,¹ ἔλκεσιν ὑπο-
 πύοις <καὶ> ἐρπηνώδεσι κατὰ πάσης χεομένοις τῆς
 δορᾶς, κακώσεσι τῶν ἐντοσθίων, ἀνατροπαῖς στο-
 μάχου, τῶν ἐν πνεύμονι πόρων ἀποφράξεις ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μὴ εὐδοεῖν τὴν ἀναπνοήν. πάρεσις γλώσσης,
 κώφωσις ὤτων, πῆρωσις ὀφθαλμῶν, τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀμυδρότης αἰσθήσεων καὶ σύγχυσις, καίτοι δεινὰ
 144 ὄντα, συγκρινόμενα βαρυτέροις οὐ φαίνεται δεινὰ,²
 τοῦ μὲν ἐν φλεψὶν αἵματος ἀποβαλόντος ὅσον ἦν
 ἐν αὐτῷ ζωτικόν, τοῦ δ' ἐν ἀρτηρίαις πνεύματος
 τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμφυοῦς ἀέρος μηκέθ' ὁμοίως
 ἐπιδεχομένου σωτήριον κραῖσιν, τῶν δὲ νεύρων
 145 ἀνεθέντων καὶ χαλασθέντων· οἷς ἐπακολουθεῖ τῆς
 ἀρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τῶν μελῶν πάρεσις πρό-
 τερον πονηθέντων ἀλμυροῦ καὶ πάνυ πικροῦ φορᾶ
 ρεύματος εἴσω παραδυομένου καί, ὅποτε στενοῖς
 ἐγκατακλεισθείῃ πόροις εὐμαρεῖς διεξόδους οὐκ
 ἔχουσι, θλιβομένου τε καὶ θλίβοντος εἰς πικρῶν καὶ
 δυσυπομονήτων γένεσιν ἀλγηδόνων, ἐξ ὧν φύεται
 τὰ ποδαγρικὰ καὶ ἀρθριτικὰ πάθη καὶ νοσήματα,
 πρὸς ᾧ σωτήριον οὐδὲν ἐπενοήθη φάρμακον, ἀλλ'

¹ So MSS. and so apparently the best text of the LXX. Many authorities, however, have in Lev. xxvi. 16 τὸν ἱκτερα σφακελίζοντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, in accordance with which Mangey corrected ὀφθαλμοῖς to -οὺς. Presumably this is more in accordance with the Hebrew, as the E.V. has "fever, that shall consume the eyes." But no instance is quoted of σφακελίζω as transitive.

² Cohn prints πάρεσις . . . δεινὰ as a parenthesis, holding that τοῦ μὲν ἐν φλεψὶν κτλ. continues the construction of the previous sentence. It seems to me quite unnecessary. The genitives absolute follow naturally on βαρυτέροις.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 143-145

scabs, jaundice, mortification ^a of the eyes, ulcers suppurating and creeping till they spread over the whole skin, dysentery, disorders of the intestine, obstruction of the passages in the lungs so that the respiration cannot travel properly.^b If the tongue is crippled or the ears lose their hearing, or the eyes their sight, or the other senses are dulled or disorganized, we have conditions which though terrible in themselves lose their terrors if compared with ¹⁴⁴ these graver symptoms, when the blood in the veins has lost its life-giving power and the breath in the bronchia can no longer receive a salutary fusion from its natural partner the air outside, and the nerves are relaxed and unstrung. These are followed by a ¹⁴⁵ breaking up of the harmony and concord which unites the members. They have already laboured under the stream of the bitter briny rheumatic humour which steals within them, and when it is enclosed in narrow passages through which it has no easy outlet, undergoes and in its turn exerts a heavy pressure, producing bitter and almost intolerable pains. This again engenders affections of the feet and joints ^c and distempers for which no curative remedy is known,

^a This seems the ordinary meaning of the word, though perhaps not very suitable here. Cohn "inflammation." Perhaps simply "wasting away," which seems to be the meaning of the word in Deut. xxviii. 32 οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου βλέπονται σφακελίζοντες (E.V. "look, and fail with longing"). But Philo is quoting from the LXX, and it is perhaps useless to inquire what meaning he put upon it.

^b Or "that the tongue is crippled . . . are conditions," i.e. disability of the senses is a necessary but minor accompaniment (the only one actually mentioned is blindness (ἀορασία), v. 32).

^c Based on v. 35 "The Lord smite thee on the legs and on the knees."

- 146 ἔστιν ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις ἀνίατα. ταῦτα ὁρῶν-
 τες ἔνιοι καταπλαγῆσονται, πῶς οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ
 πίονες εὖσαρκοί τε καὶ εὐεξία μάλιστα θάλλοντες
 οὕτως αἰφνίδιον ἐκτακέντες ῥικνοὶ γεγόνασιν ἴνες
 αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ λεπτὴ δορά, καὶ πῶς γυναῖκες
 ἄβροδίατοι καὶ πανάπαλοι διὰ τὴν ἐκ πρώτης
 ἡλικίας συναυξηθεῖσαν τρυφὴν ὑπὸ κακώσεως δεινῆς
 ἅμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐξηγγρίωνται.¹
- 147 Τότε δὴ τότε διώξονται μὲν ἐχθροὶ καὶ μάχαιρα
 ἐκδικήσει δίκην, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς πόλεις καταφεύ-
 γοντες, ὅταν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι νομίσωσιν,
 ἐλπίδος ἀπάτῃ φενακισθέντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπολοῦνται,
- 148 προκαταδύντων² ἐνέδραις ἐχθρῶν. XXVI. καὶ
 <εἰ> ἐπὶ τούτοις μὴ σωφρονίζονται πλαγιάζοντες
 καὶ τὰς ἐπ' ἀλήθειαν ἀγούσας εὐθυτενεῖς ὁδοὺς
 ἐκτρεπόμενοι, δειλία καὶ φόβος ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν
 ἐνιδρυθήσεται, καὶ φεύξονται μὲν οὐδενὸς διώ-
 κοντος, φήμαις δὲ οἷα φιλεῖ ψευδέσι πεσοῦνται
- [433] προτροπάδην, φύλλου τε κτύπος | κουφότατος δι'

¹ Cohn places the paragraph after the next sentence. But the break is surely here, where we pass from the bodily afflictions to those of war.

² So mss. Cohn προκαταδύντες = "because they have fallen into the snares before they get there"? The mss. reading seems to me to give a more natural interpretation of the LXX in Lev. xxvi. 25 "ye shall flee to your cities and I will send out death to you and ye shall be delivered (or betrayed, παραδώσεσθε) into the hands of your enemies." The enemy have access to the cities through accomplices, as the Thebans

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 145-148

nor can human ingenuity find any way of healing them. Such sights will make people ask in amazement how it is that persons who but now were plump and well clothed with flesh in the full bloom of robust health have so suddenly wasted away and shrunk into nothing but a set of sinews with a thin coating of skin ; and how women who have lived in ease and comfort, the dainty product of the luxury that has grown up with them from their earliest years,^a have become wizened^b in body as well as in soul through the cruel ravages of disease.^c

Then too the enemy will pursue and the sword will exact justice. They will fly to their cities and think that they have found safety, but a false hope has deceived them ; the enemy will be there already lying in wait, and they will perish wholesale.^d XXVI. And if with all this they fail to learn wisdom and still go crookedly^e away from the straight paths which lead to truth, cowardice and fear will be established in their souls. They will fly when no man pursues ; rumours false as they so often are will send them falling headlong, and the lightest sound of a leaf borne through

^a This looks like a reminiscence of *v.* 56 "She that is tender (*ἀπαλή*) and delicate (*τρυφερά*) among you whose foot has not attempted to go upon the ground because of her tenderness and delicacy," though the context is totally different. *πανάπαλοι* is Homeric, *cf. Odyssey* xiii. 223.

^b More literally "have grown wild," which in English hardly answers to the description.

^c For the medical use of *κάκωσις* for the consequences of disease see *L. & S.*

^d *Lev.* xxvi. 25.

^e So in *Lev.* xxvi. 21, 23, 27 *ἐὰν πορεύῃσθε πλαγιάζοντες*. *E.V.* "walk contrary to me."

had in Plataea (*Thuc.* ii. 22). The *E.V.*, which has "pestilence" instead of "death," gives a different picture.

- ἀέρος φερομένου¹ τοσαύτην ἀγωνίαν καὶ πτοίαν ἐργάσεται, ὅσῃν ὁ τραχύτατος πόλεμος ἐκ δυνατέρων ἐχθρῶν, ὡς καὶ τέκνα γονέων καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφούς ἀδελφῶν ὑπεριδεῖν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀλλήλων ἐπιβοηθείας ἄλλωσιν προσδοκήσαντας, σωτηρίαν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδιδράσκειν
- 149 ἕκαστον. πονηρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀτελεῖς ἐλπίδες· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἢ οὐχ ἦττον οἱ διαπεφευγένοι δόξαντες τῶν προκαταληφθέντων ἀλώσονται. καὶ διαλάθωσι μέντοι τινές, ἐφεδρείαν δ' ἔξουσιν τῶν φύσει πολεμίων· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀγριώτεροι² θῆρες ἔξ ἑαυτῶν εὐοπλοῦντες, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τοῦ παντὸς ἐδημιούργει πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν δυναμένων νουθετεῖσθαι φόβον τῶν δὲ ἀνιάτως
- 150 ἐχόντων ἀπαραίτητον δίκην. ἀπιστήσουσι μὲν οἱ θεασάμενοι τὰς αὐτοῖς θεμελίους ἀναιρεθείσας πόλεις, εἰ πώποτε ὠκίσθησαν· ἐν εἶδει δὲ παροιμίας θήσονται τὰς ἐκ λαμπρῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἐξαπιναίους κακοπραγίας, ὅσαι καὶ ἀνεγράφησαν καὶ εἰσιν
- 151 ἄγραφοι. παρελεύσονται καὶ μέχρι σπλάγχχνων αἱ τηκεδόνες ἀθυμίας τε καὶ ἀδημονίας ἐμποιοῦσαι σὺν ἐκθλύψει. ζῶν ἀνίδρυτον καὶ κρεμαμένην ὥσπερ

¹ So Cohn (in translation) for mss. φερόμενος, cf. LXX φωνὴ φύλλου φερομένου.

² So mss. Cohn ἀγριώτατοι.

^a Or "agitation." *πτοία*, though connected by Philo with fear, is applicable to other kinds of excitement. See note, vol. vii. p. 612.

^b Lev. xxvi. 36, where Philo perhaps read with some mss. *δειλίαν* for *δουλείαν* (E.V. "faintness"). The rumours seem to be his interpretation of the "driven leaf."

^c Lev. xxvi. 37. LXX καὶ ὑπερόψεται ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡσεὶ ἐν πολέμῳ. E.V. "And they shall stumble one upon another, as it were before the sword."

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 148-151

the air will cause as much trepidation and quaking^a as the most savage war waged by mightier enemies.^b So children will take no thought for parents nor parents for children, nor brother for brother, expecting that mutual help will lead to destruction, and flight, each man for himself, to salvation.^c But the hopes of the 149 wicked are not fulfilled; those who imagine they have escaped will suffer worse or at any rate no better fate than those who were captured earlier.^d Further if some elude their captors they will have to meet a reserve force of their natural enemies. These are wild beasts more ferocious than men, formidably equipped with their native weapons, whom God when He first made the universe created to put fear into those who could take the warning and to punish inexorably the incorrigible.^e Those 150 who behold the cities with their very foundations demolished will disbelieve that they were ever before inhabited,^f and all the calamities, whether described in the law or not,^g which suddenly succeeded the bright days of prosperity, will become to them like a proverb.^h The wasting will pass into their very bowels 151 and wring them with despair and sore distress; life will be made unstable and suspended as it were to

^a Lev. xxvi. 39 "Those who are left of you shall be destroyed" (E.V. "pine away").

^b Lev. xxvi. 22.

^f Lev. xxvi. 31, 32 "I will lay your cities waste . . . and your enemies who dwell in it shall wonder at it."

^g Deut. xxviii. 61. E.V. "Every plague, which is not written in the book of the law," to which the LXX adds "and every one that is written."

^h Deut. xxviii. 37. E.V. "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword." LXX ἔσει ἐν αἰνίγματι ("riddle") καὶ παραβολῇ καὶ διηγήματι. Philo sums up the three in *παροιμία*.

ἐξ ἀγχόνης ἐργάσονται φόβου διαδοχαὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω καὶ κάτω κλονοῦσαι,¹ ὡς πρωῒας μὲν ἐσπέραν ἐσπέρας δὲ ὄρθρον εὔχεσθαι διὰ τὰς καὶ ἐγρηγορότων κακώσεις ἐμφανείς καὶ κοιμωμένων ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἀποτροπαίους φαντασίας.

- 152 Ὁ μὲν ἔπηλυς ἄνω ταῖς εὐτυχίαις μετέωρος ἀρθεῖς περίβλεπτος ἔσται, θαυμαζόμενος καὶ μακαρίζόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις, τῷ τε αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς θεὸν καὶ τῷ γέρας λαβεῖν οἰκειότατον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ τάξιν βεβαίαν, ἣν οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὃ δ' εὐπατρίδης παρακόψας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας ὑποσυρῆσεται κατωτάτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν τάρταρον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος ἐνεχθεῖς, ἵνα ταῦτα ὀρώντες τὰ παραδείγματα πάντες ἄνθρωποι σωφρονίζωνται, μανθάνοντες ὅτι τὴν ἐκ δυσγενείας² ἀρετὴν φυομένην³ θεὸς ἀσπάζεται, τὰς μὲν ρίζας ἐὼν χαίρειν, τὸ δὲ στελεχωθὲν ἔρνος, ὅτι μετέβαλεν ἡμερωθὲν πρὸς εὐκαρπίαν, ἀποδεχόμενος.

- 153 XXVII. Οὕτως καθάπερ ὑπὸ πυρὸς δαπανη-

¹ MSS. κλίνουσιν or κατακλινούσιν.

² MSS. δυσμενείας.

³ MSS. φθινομένην, φθιομένην and A οὐ φθειρομένην (so Mangey).

^a For this section see Deut. xxviii. 65-67. In the last words "for the fear of thy heart which thou shalt fear, and the sights of thy eyes which thou shalt see," Philo takes the "fears" to apply to the morning and the "sights" (*i.e.* dreams) to the evening or night.

^b For this section see Deut. xxviii. 43 "The stranger (προσῆλυτος) within thee shall mount higher and higher (ἄνω ἄνω) and thou shalt descend lower and lower (κάτω κάτω)." Philo's persistent determination to make προσῆλυτος = "prose-lyte" leads him here as elsewhere to ignore the context, which

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 151-153

a halter by one terror succeeding another, day and night, hustling the soul up and down, so that in the morning they will pray for evening and in the evening for morning through the palpable miseries of their waking hours and the horrible dreams which appear to them in sleep.^a

The proselyte exalted aloft by his happy lot will be 152
gazed at from all sides, marvelled at and held blessed by all for two things of highest excellence, that he came over to the camp of God and that he has won a prize best suited to his merits, a place in heaven firmly fixed, greater than words dare describe, while the nobly born who has falsified the sterling of his high lineage will be dragged right down and carried into Tartarus itself and profound darkness. Thus may all men seeing these examples be brought to a wiser mind and learn that God welcomes the virtue which springs from ignoble birth, that He takes no account of the roots but accepts the full-grown stem, because it has been changed from a weed into fruitfulness.^b

XXVII. ^cWhen the cities have been thus con- 153

continues "he shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him." The "place in heaven" (perhaps better "high as heaven") does not of course refer to an after life but merely represents the emphatic *ἄνω ἄνω*, as "Tartarus" the *κάτω κάτω*.

^c The sections that follow are mainly based on Lev. xxvi. 33-35 (cf. v. 43) "your land shall be desolate and your cities shall be desolate. Then the land shall enjoy (*εὐδοκήσῃ*) its sabbaths in the days of its desolation . . . it shall keep sabbaths, which it kept not among your sabbaths, when ye dwelt in it." On the word "enjoy" or "be well pleased" Philo builds a denunciation of the neglect of the sabbatical year as a wrong to the land, somewhat in the same spirit as his discourse on kindness to plants, *De Virt.* 155-160, and to the land, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 215 ff.

PHILO

θεισῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐρημωθείσης,
 ἄρξεται ποτε διαπνεῖν καὶ ἀνακύπτειν ἢ πολλὰ
 γυμνασθεῖσα καὶ τραχηλισθεῖσα γῇ πρὸς οἰκητόρων
 [434] ἀφορήτου βίας, οἱ τὰς παρθένους | ἑβδομάδας
 ὑπερορίους καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν διανοίας
 ἀπήλασαν. μόνας γὰρ ἢ τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον εἰπεῖν
 πρώτας ἀνέδειξεν ἑορτὰς ἢ φύσις τὰς ἑβδομάδας
 ἡμερῶν τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν, πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις μὲν τὰς ἡμερῶν, τῇ δὲ χώρα τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν.
 154 οἱ δ' ὅλον τοῦτον παρακαλυψάμενοι τὸν νόμον, τοὺς
 ἄλλας, τὰς σπονδάς, τὸν ἐλέου βωμόν, τὴν κοινὴν
 ἐστίαν, ἐξ ὧν φιλία καὶ ὁμόνοια ἡρμόζετο—πάντα
 γὰρ δι' ἑβδομάδος καὶ ἑβδομάς—, ἐβάρυναν μὲν
 ἀνθρώπους ἀσθενεστέρους οἱ δυνατώτεροι συνεχέσι
 καὶ ἀδιαστάτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἐβάρυναν δὲ καὶ τὰς
 ἀρούρας αἰεὶ κέρδη μεταδιώκοντες ἐκ πλεονεξιῶν
 ἄδικα, ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐφιστάντες¹ ἀχαλίνους καὶ
 155 ἀδίκους ὁρμὰς εἰς τὸ ἀκόρεστον. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ
 παρασχεῖν μὲν ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τὸν ἀψευδέστατον
 λόγον ἀδελφοῖς, ὧν μία μήτηρ ἢ κοινὴ φύσις, τὰς
 προστεταγμένας δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἐκεχειρίας, παρέχειν
 δὲ καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τὰς δι' ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν ἀnéσεις μήτε
 156 σποραῖς μήτε φυτείαις βαρύνοντας, ἵνα μὴ καμάτοις
 ἐπαλλήλοις ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ἀμελήσαντες τουτωγνὶ τῶν

¹ MSS. ἐπιστάντες.

^a On these symbols of peace see App. p. 457. The general meaning is that anyone capable of violating the Sabbath and sabbatical year is capable of any inhumanity.

^b Or "all things," but see App. p. 458.

^c Lit. "are Seven." On this, which seems to me to go

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 153-156

sumed by fire and the country made desolate, the land will begin to take breath and raise its head—that land so long roughly handled in the grip of the intolerable violence shown by the inhabitants, who chased the virgin Sevens into banishment both from the country and from their thoughts. For the sole, or to speak more cautiously, the chief feasts appointed by nature are the recurrence of the sevenths in days and years, days to give rest to men, years to the country. But they have closed their eyes to the ¹⁵⁴ whole of this law, to the salt, to the libations, to the altar of mercy, to the common hearth,^a all which have served as bonds of friendship and goodwill, all of them ^b produced by Seven and embraced in Seven.^c On men they have laid a heavy burden, the stronger oppressing the weaker, by making the tasks which they impose continuous and unbroken: on the fields, by ever pursuing unjust gains in the coveteousness of their hearts, lust at the base and on it impulses to action unjust and unrestrained, which never can be satisfied.^d Instead of granting to men who in ¹⁵⁵ absolute truth were their brethren, children of one mother their common nature, the appointed holiday after every six days, and to the land after every six years its time of release from the burden of sowing and planting lest it become exhausted by repeated ¹⁵⁶ beyond the other phrases in which Philo extols the mystical virtues of Seven, see App. p. 458.

^a The translation suggests a distinction between *ἐπιθυμία*, a desire not yet translated into an active impulse, and *ὁρμή*. But I have not seen anything either in Philo or *S.V.F.* to support it. Cohn translates "letting their desires have free course in an unbridled and wicked way," but I do not understand what he makes of *ἐφιστάντες*. Perhaps some other correction should be made for the mss. *ἐπιστάντες*, such as *ἐπιχαλάσαντες*.

- χρηστῶν παραινήσεων εἰς ἡμερότητα προκαλου-
 μένων τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὧν ἐδύναντο
 πάντων ἀνάγκαις ἀτρύτοις ἐπίεσαν, τῆς βαθυγείου
 δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑπετέμοντο φοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν
 ἀπλήστως προσοδούμενοι καὶ δασμοῖς οὐκ ἐτησίοις
 157 μόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφημέροις ὅλην δι' ὧν ἐκτραχηλί-
 ζοντες. ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰς λεχθείσας ἀράς καὶ
 δίκας ἀναπλήσουσιν, ἡ δ' ἐκνευρισθεῖσα χώρα καὶ
 μυρίας ὑπομείνασα κακώσεις, ἀποφορτισαμένη τὸ
 τῶν ἀσεβῶν οἰκητόρων ἄχθος, ἐπελαφρισθήσεται·
 καὶ ὅταν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβλεψαμένη μηδένα θεάσῃται
 τῶν καθελόντων αὐτῆς τὸ μεγαλαύχημα καὶ
 ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ κενὰς μὲν αὐτῆς τὰς ἀγορὰς θορύβων
 καὶ πολέμων καὶ ἀδικημάτων, πλήρεις δὲ ἡσυχίας
 καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀνηβήσει καὶ ἐπ-
 ακμάσει καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐβδομάδων καιροὺς
 ἐορτώδεις ἡρεμήσει καὶ ἀναπαύσεται συλλεγομένη
 158 καθάπερ ἀθλητῆς προηγωνισμένος δύναμιν. εἴθ' οἷα
 μήτηρ φιλόστοργος οἰκτιεῖται μὲν υἱοὺς καὶ
 θυγατέρας οὓς ἀπέβαλεν, οἷ καὶ ἀποθανόντες καὶ
 ζῶντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀδύναι τοῖς τοκεῦσιν ἐγένοντο·
 πάλιν δὲ νεάσασα εὐφορήσει καὶ τέξεται γενεὰν
 ἀνεπίληπτον, ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς προτέρας· ἡ γὰρ
 [435] ἔρημος, ἣ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, εὐτεκνός | τε καὶ
 πολύπαις, ὅπερ λόγιον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἀλληγορεῖται.
 159 πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ᾗ, παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνά-
 πλεως, οἷα περικεχυμένων αὐτῇ τέκνων, ἡδονῶν,
 ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, ἀδικίας, ἀσθενεί
 καὶ νοσεῖ καὶ ἐπικήρως ἔχουσα θανατᾶ, στερω-

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 156-159

labours, they set at nought their kindly admonitions which call to gentleness. They oppressed the souls and bodies of all whom they could with perpetual hardships and undermined the strength of the deep soiled field while they accumulated wealth insatiably by levying tributes greater than it could bear and broke it down utterly through its whole extent by tolls exacted not only annually but daily. For this they 157 themselves will receive the full measure of curses and penalties named above, but the land unstrung by the numberless mishandlings which it has undergone will now be relieved, disburdened of the heavy weight of its impious inhabitants. And when she looks around and sees none of the destroyers of her former pride and high name, sees her market places void of turmoil and war and wrongdoing, but full of tranquillity and peace and justice, she will renew her youth and bloom and take her rest calm and serene during the festal seasons of the sacred Seven, rallying her strength like a wrestler after his first bout. Then like 158 a fond mother she will pity the sons and daughters whom she has lost, who in death and still more when in life were a grief to their parents. Young once more she will be fruitful and bear a blameless generation to redress the one that went before. For she that is desolate, says the prophet,^a will have children many and fine, a saying which also is an allegory of the history of the soul. For when the soul is "many," 159 full that is of passions and vices with her children, pleasures, desires, folly, incontinence, injustice, gathered around her, she is feeble and sick and

^a Isaiah liv. 1 "for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife." LXX τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

- θείσα δὲ καὶ ἀγονήσασα τούτων ἢ καὶ ἀποβαλοῦσα
 ἀθρόα γίνεται μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀγνὴ παρθένος,
 160 παραδεξαμένη δὲ τὸν θεῖον σπóρον διαπλάττει καὶ
 ζωογονεῖ περιμαχῆτους φύσεις, θαυμαστὰ κάλλη,
 φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην, ὁσιό-
 τητα, εὐσέβειαν, τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τε καὶ εὐπα-
 θείας, ὧν οὐ μόνον ἡ γένεσις εὐτεκνος¹ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἡ προσδοκία τῆς γενέσεως ἐλπίδι προγανούσα
 161 τὴν ἀσθένειαν.² ἐλπίς δὲ χαρὰ πρὸ χαρᾶς ἐστίν, εἰ
 καὶ ἐνδεὴς παρὰ τελείαν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς ἐπιγινομένης
 καθ' ἐκάτερα βελτίων, ὅτι τε τὸ αὐχμηρὸν ἀναχαλᾷ
 καὶ λιπαίνει τῶν φροντίδων καὶ ὅτι φθάνουσα τὸ
 μέλλον καὶ πλήρες ἀγαθὸν εὐαγγελίζεται.
- 162 XXVIII. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρὰς καὶ τιμωρίας, ἃς
 ὑπομένειν ἄξιον τοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων δικαιοσύνης
 καὶ εὐσεβείας ὑπερορῶντας καὶ ταῖς πολυθέοις δό-
 ξαις ὑπαχθέντας, ὧν ἀθεότης τὸ τέλος, λήθη τῆς
 συγγενοῦς καὶ πατρίου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐκ πρώτης
 ἡλικίας ἐπαιδεύθησαν τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς φύσιν τὸν ἀνω-
 τάτω νομίζειν θεόν, ᾧ δεῖ μόνῳ προσκεκληρῶσθαι

¹ So Mangey and Cohn for MSS. εὐτεκνον. I do not feel sure about this correction. For though εὐτεκνον ἀγαθόν would be a strange expression, the position of εὐτεκνος is also strange.

² Cohn finally accepted Mangey's correction to διάνοιαν, but see note c.

^a Though starting from the verse in Isaiah, the allegory of the soul is more concerned with 1 Sam. ii. 5 (Hannah's song) "yea, the barren hath borne seven; and she that hath many children languisheth. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive," a passage quoted to the same effect *Quod Deus* 10,

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 159-162

dangerously near to death.^a But when she has become barren and ceases to produce these children or indeed has cast them out bodily she is transformed into a pure virgin.^b Then receiving the divine seed 160 she moulds it into shape and brings forth new life in forms of precious quality and marvellous loveliness, wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, holiness, piety and the other virtues and good emotions. Not only is it well that these goodly children should be brought to the birth, but good also is the expectation of this birth, the forecast cheering the soul's weakness^c with hope. Hope is joy before joy, falling short of the 161 perfection of the other yet superior to its successor in two ways, one that it relaxes with its unction the aridity of our cares, the other that it goes before as a harbinger of the plenitude of good which is to be.^d

XXVIII. I have now described without any 162 reservation the curses and penalties which they will deservedly suffer who disregard the holy laws of justice and piety, who have been seduced by the polytheistic creeds which finally lead to atheism and have forgotten the teaching of their race and of their fathers, in which they were trained from their earliest years to acknowledge the One in substance,^e the supreme God, to whom alone all

De Mut. 143. Here the LXX has ἡ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις ἡσθένησε. ὁ κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, in which the phrases ἡ πολλή for πολλὰ ἔχουσα τέκνα, ἡσθένησε, ζωογονεῖ, and perhaps θανατοῖ in θανατᾷ are echoed by Philo.

^b Cf. *De Cher.* 50.

^c Another echo of ἡσθένησε. The substitution of διάνοιαν would miss this point.

^d Compare the glorification of hope, §§ 7-14 above and *De Mut.* 157 ff., where also the phrase χαίρειν πρὸ χαρᾶς occurs.

^e Lit. the "nature of the One." The theological use of "substance" is, I think, much the same.

- τοὺς ἄπλαστον ἀλήθειαν ἀντὶ πεπλασμένων μύθων
 μεταδιώκοντας, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος δεδήλωκα.
- 163 ἐὰν μέντοι μὴ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ δέξωνται τὰς δυνάμεις¹
 μᾶλλον ἢ νοθεσία καὶ καταιδεσθέντες ὅλη ψυχῇ
 μεταβάλωσι, κακίσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς πλάνης,
 ἐξαγορεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ὅσα ἡμαρτον
 καθ' αὐτοὺς διανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένη τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ
 τοῦ συνειδότος ἀψευδὲς καὶ ἀνύπουλον, ἔπειτα καὶ
 γλώττῃ πρὸς βελτίωσιν τῶν ἀκούοντων, εὐμενείας
 τεύξονται τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἰλεω θεοῦ τῷ γένει
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαίρετον παρασχομένου καὶ μεγί-
 στην δωρεάν, τὴν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγου συγγένειαν,
 ἀφ' οὗ καθάπερ ἀρχετύπου γέγονεν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος
- 164 νοῦς· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ὥσι γῆς δουλεύοντες
 παρὰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπάγουσιν ἐχθροῖς,
 ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντες
 ἐλευθερωθήσονται, τῆς ἀθρόας πρὸς ἀρετὴν μετα-
 βολῆς κατάπληξιν ἐργασαμένης τοῖς δεσπόταις·
 μεθήσονται γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰδεσθέντες κρειττόνων
- 165 ἄρχειν. XXIX. ὅταν δὲ τύχωσι τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου
 ταύτης ἐλευθερίας, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ σποράδες ἐν Ἑλ-
 λάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ νήσους καὶ κατὰ ἡπείρους
- [436] ἀναστάντες | ὁρμῇ μιᾷ πρὸς ἓνα συντενοῦσιν² ἀλλα-
 χόθεν ἄλλοι τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα χώρον, ξεναγούμενοι

¹ The word seems impossible as it stands. Cohn suggested *δυσμενείας*, but later rejected it and inclined to Mangey's *ἐπανατάσεις*. But the curses at this point are not threats, but actual punishments. If anything of this kind, *κολάσεις*. But τὰς <κολαστηρίους> δυνάμεις would not be out of place, cf. *De Ebr.* 32 τὰς κολαστηρίους δυνάμεις πῶς ἐπιφερομένας

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 162-165

must belong who follow truth unfeigned instead of mythical figments. ^a If however they accept these 163 chastisements as a warning rather than as intending their perdition, if shamed into a whole-hearted conversion, they reproach themselves for going thus astray, and make a full confession and acknowledgement of all their sin,^b first within themselves with a mind so purged that their conscience is sincere and free from lurking taint, secondly with their tongues to bring their hearers to a better way, then they will find favour with God the Saviour, the Merciful, who has bestowed on mankind that peculiar and chiefest gift of kinship with His own Word, from whom as its archetype the human mind was created. ^c For even though they dwell in the uttermost parts 164 of the earth, in slavery to those who led them away captive, one signal, as it were, one day will bring liberty to all. This conversion in a body to virtue will strike awe into their masters, who will set them free, ashamed to rule over men better than themselves. XXIX. When they have gained this unexpected 165 liberty, those who but now were scattered in Greece and the outside world over islands and continents will arise and post from every side with one impulse to the one appointed place, guided in their pilgrimage

^a For the restoration see Lev. xxvi. 40 ff. and Deut. xxx. 1 ff.

^b Lev. xxvi. 40 "they shall confess (ἐξαγορεύσουσι) their sins."

^c For this and the next section see Deut. xxx. 3-5.

οἴσομεν ; *De Conf.* 171 αἱ κολαστήριοι (sc. δυνάμεις)· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὐσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπανόρθωσις. Though κολαστηρίους can hardly be understood here, it may have fallen out.

² MSS. συντείνουσι.

- πρὸς τινος θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄψεως, ἀδήλου μὲν ἑτέροις, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἀνασω-
- 166 ζομένοις ἐμφανούς, τρισὶ χρησάμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν, ἐνὶ μὲν ἐπικεικία καὶ χρηστότητι τοῦ παρακαλουμένου συγγνώμην πρὸ τιμωρίας ἀεὶ τιθέντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἄπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασιν ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ
- 167 ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς, τρίτῳ δὲ δι' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ τῶν λεχθέντων εὐμένεια φθάνει προαπαντῶσα, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ βελτίωσις τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς σπονδὰς καὶ συμβάσεις, οἳ μόλις ἐξ ἀνοδίας εἰς ὁδὸν ἐδυνήθησαν ἔλθειν, ἥς τὸ πέρασ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ εὐαρεστεῖν
- 168 τῷ θεῷ καθάπερ υἱοὺς πατρί. παραγενομένων δὲ πολισθήσονται πάλιν αἱ ἐρείπιοι γενόμεναι πρὸ μικροῦ καὶ ἡ ἔρημος οἰκισθήσεται καὶ ἡ στείρωθεισα γῆ μεταβαλεῖ πρὸς εὐγονίαν· αἱ τε πατέρων καὶ προγόνων εὐτυχίαι βραχὺ μέρος εἶναι νομισθήσονται διὰ τὰς ἀφθόνουσ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ περιου-

^a These remarkable words are regarded by Cohn (Introduction to translation, p. 382) as a somewhat obscure allusion to the Jewish expectation of a personal Messiah. But need they indicate more than a belief that in the second deliverance the nation would be guided as they were in the first by the Cloud in which was a *θεία ὄψις* flashing rays of fire, *Mos.* ii. 254? Cf. also the description of the Burning Bush, *Mos.* i. 66.

^b A special sense of *ἀνασώζομαι*, see L. & S.

^c Or "free from the complications (*ἄπλαστον*) and wrappings (*γυμνή*) of the body."

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 165-168

by a vision divine and superhuman^a unseen by others but manifest to them as they pass from exile to their home.^b Three intercessors they have to 166 plead for their reconciliation with the Father. One is the clemency and kindness of Him to whom they appeal, who ever prefers forgiveness to punishment. The second is the holiness of the founders of the race because with souls released from their bodies they show forth in that naked simplicity^c their devotion to their Ruler and cease not to make supplications for their sons and daughters, supplications not made in vain, because the Father grants to them the privilege that their prayers should be heard.^d The third is one which more than 167 anything else moves the loving kindness of the other two to come forward so readily, and that is the reformation working in those who are being brought to make a covenant of peace, those who after much toil have been able to pass from the pathless wild to the road which has no other goal but to find favour with God, as sons may with their father. When they have arrived, the cities which 168 but now lay in ruins will be cities once more ; the desolate land will be inhabited ; the barren will change into fruitfulness ; all the prosperity of their fathers and ancestors will seem a tiny fragment, so lavish will be the abundant riches in their posses-

^a This is presumably founded on Lev. xxvi. 42 "I will remember my covenant with Abraham . . . and with Isaac . . . and with Jacob." But the idea of the departed saints acting as intercessors, which Cohn *l.c.* notes as a genuinely Jewish idea, is, I think, unique in Philo. Indeed he rarely if ever suggests any conscious activity on their part. The nearest approaches to it which I have noted are in *De Sac.* 5, *Quis Rerum* 276 and *Mos.* ii. 288.

σίας, αἱ καθάπερ <ἀπ'> ἀενάων πηγῶν τῶν τοῦ
 θεοῦ χαρίτων ῥέουσai βαθὺν πλοῦτον ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ
 καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ περιποιήσουσι φθόνου κρείττονα.

169 μεταβολὴ δὲ πάντων ἐξαπινάιως
 ἔσται. τρέψει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀρὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς <τῶν>
 μετανενοηκότων ἐχθρούς, οἵτινες κακοπραγίαις τοῦ
 ἔθνους ἐφήδοντο κατακερτομοῦντες καὶ ἐπιχλευά-
 ζοντες, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀκαθαίρετον ἔζοντες κλῆρον¹
 εὐτυχίας, ὃν παισὶ καὶ ἐκγόνοις κατὰ διαδοχὴν
 ἀπολείψειν ἤλπισαν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐποψόμενοι τοὺς ἀντι-
 πάλους ἐν βεβαίῳ καὶ ἀκλινεῖ δυστυχίᾳ ταμειυθη-

170 σομένη καὶ ταῖς ἔπειτα γενεαῖς, ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας
 οὐ συνιέντες ὅτι καὶ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ λαμπρότητος
 ἀπέλαυσαν οὐ δι' αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ νουθεσίαν ἐτέρων,
 οἷς τὰ πάτρια καταλύσασι φάρμακον ἀνευρέθη
 σωτήριον, λύπη, τὰ τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀγαθὰ περι-
 αλγήσασι. κλαύσαντες οὖν καὶ στενά-

ξαντες τὴν ἰδίαν τροπὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ
 προγονικὴν ἀνακάμψουσιν εὐτυχίαν διαυλοδρομή-
 171 σαντες, οἷς μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ἐξοκεῖλαι συνέβη. οἱ δὲ
 γελάσαντες τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐκείνων καὶ δημοτελεῖς
 ἐορτὰς ἄγειν ψηφισάμενοι τὰς ἀποφράδας αὐτῶν καὶ
 [437] τὰ πένθη κατευωχηθέντες καὶ συνόλως | τὴν ἐτέ-
 ρων κακοδαιμονίαν εὐδαιμονήσαντες, ὅταν ἄρξων-

¹ MSS. καιρόν.

^a Deut. xxx. 5 "He will make thee abundant (πλεοναστόν) beyond thy fathers."

^b Deut. xxx. 7.

^c This must be the meaning of πρὸ μικροῦ here, and prob-

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 168-171

sion, which flowing from the gracious bounties of God as from a perennial fountain will bring to each individually and to all in common a deep stream of wealth leaving no room for envy.^a

Everything will suddenly be reversed, God will 169 turn the curses against the enemies of these penitents,^b the enemies who rejoiced in the misfortunes of the nation and mocked and railed at them, thinking that they themselves would have a heritage which nothing could destroy and which they hoped to leave to their children and descendants in due succession; thinking too that they would always see their opponents in a firmly established and unchanging adversity which would be reserved for the generations that followed them. In their in- 170 fatuation they did not understand that the short-lived ^c brilliance which they had enjoyed had been given them not for their own sakes but as a lesson to others, who had subverted the institutions of their fathers, and therefore grief—the very painful feeling aroused by the sight of their enemy's good fortune—was devised as a medicine to save them from perdition.

So then those of them who have not come to utter destruction, in tears and groans lamenting their own lapse, will make their way back with course reversed to the prosperity of the ancestral past. But these enemies who have 171 mocked at their lamentations, proclaimed public holidays on the days of their misfortunes,^d feasted on their mourning, in general made the unhappiness of others their own happiness, will, when they begin to

ably in § 171, rather than the ordinary sense of "a little while ago," though such a use is not noted in the Lexicon.

^a See App. p. 458.

PHILO

ται κομίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ὁμότητος, αἰσθῆ-
 σονται διότι οὐκ εἰς ἀφανεῖς καὶ ἡμελημένους
 ἐξημέρτανον, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐπατρίδας ἔχοντας ἐναύ-
 σματα τῆς εὐγενείας, ἀφ' ὧν ἀναρριπισθέντων
 ἐξέλαμψεν ἡ πρὸ μικροῦ σβεσθεῖσα εὐκλεία.

172 καθάπερ γὰρ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν στελεχῶν, ὅταν
 μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν αἱ ρίζαι, νέα ἔρνη βλαστάνει,¹ ὅφ'
 ὧν τὰ γεράνδρνα παρευημερεῖται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς βραχυτάτου σπέρματος τῶν εἰς
 ἀρετὴν ὑπολειφθέντος, ἄλλων περιαιρεθέντων, οὐδὲν
 ἥττον ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος φύεται τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ
 κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, δι' ἃ πάλιν εὐαν-
 δροῦσαι [αἱ] πόλεις συνοικίζονται καὶ ἔθνη πρὸς
 πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπιδίδωσιν.

¹ MSS. βλαστάνουσι.

ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, 171-172

reap the rewards of their cruelty, find that their misconduct was directed not against the obscure and unmeritable but against men of high lineage retaining sparks of their noble birth, which have to be but fanned into a flame, and from them shines out the glory which for a little while was quenched. For 172 just as when the stalks of plants are cut away, if the roots are left undestroyed, new growths shoot up which supersede the old, so too if in the soul a tiny seed be left of the qualities which promote virtue, though other things have been stripped away, still from that little seed spring forth the fairest and most precious things in human life, by which states are constituted manned with good citizens, and nations grow into a great population.^a

^a On this conclusion to the treatise see General Introduction, p. xxii.

APPENDIX TO *DE SPECIALIBUS LEGIBUS*, IV

(The title.) This, as it is given here, is taken from a list of some of the works of Philo, found in an eleventh-century ms., which itself contains only half of the *De Opificio*, but the list no doubt is the table of contents in the exemplar from which that ms. was taken. It agrees with that in the two mss. (S and M) of this treatise, except that they omit *ὅλης*. All these omit the last word or words, which Cohn supplied by *τέλος*. The last six words so amended are translated in Goodhart and Goodenough's *Bibliography*, p. 135, "and which (*i.e.* justice) is the objective of the whole code." I understand *ὁ* to have the phrase *περὶ δικαιοσύνης* for its antecedent, and *συντάξεως*, which could hardly mean "code," as referring to the whole of the four books.

The addition of *τῶν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀναφερομένων* seems quite needless. Compare the titles of the other three books.

§ 2. (Stealing open and secret.) As the distinction made by Philo, though natural enough, is not drawn at any rate directly from the Law it is a case where perhaps he may have been influenced by other legislation. Goodenough, *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt*, pp. 145 ff., and Heinemann, *Bildung*, pp. 421 ff., have some discussion on this. Goodenough notes that the Ptolemaic law in Egypt distinguished between open robbery (*λεία*) and ordinary stealing. He gives a reference to Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht*, pp. 26 ff., which I have not been able to see. In Roman law the person who committed a "furtum manifestum" was held to be a "fur inprobior" (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 601). In Attic law the distinction does not seem to be so clear. In Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 62, which Goodenough cites, *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰάν τις φανερός γένηται κλέπτων . . . θάνατός ἐστιν ἢ ζημία, φανερός* may mean "detected," "clearly proved" rather than, as Goodenough, "openly."

§ 2. *Repay the stolen goods twofold.* Mangey on these

PHILO

words and Driver on Ex. xxii. 4 give several examples of a similar rule. Among them are Solon's laws as stated by Gellius xi. 18 and Dem. *Adv. Timocrat.*, p. 467 (of conviction for theft in a private action) and Plato, *Laws* 857 A. Philo may have known these, but his generalization is not so inexact that we need suppose him to have been influenced by other legislations.

§ 4. *General proclamation.* Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 421, dissents from the view that there is an allusion to Lev. xxv. 10, and regards the phrase as meaning merely a public announcement. The absence of the article may favour this, but he does not give any evidence of such a regulation from Philo or elsewhere. The Athenian ἀποκήρυξις which he quotes as an analogy, a term applied to a formal notice of disinheriting, does not help much.

§ 7. *In the very place where he has broken in.* L. and S. revised give "(the act of) breaking in" for διόρνγμα as a LXX usage, citing this passage, viz. Ex. xxii. 2 and Jeremiah ii. 34. I do not think this is right. In neither passage, the second of which appears to be an allusion to the first, is there any necessity to understand the act rather than the place. Anyway, Philo is more likely to have understood the word, which he quotes from the LXX, in its usual sense.

For the law that a thief might be legally killed at night cf. the Attic law as stated by Demosthenes, *Adv. Timocrat.*, p. 463, also Plato, *Laws* ix. 874 Β νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων, ἐὰν ἐλὼν κτείνῃ τις, καθαρὸς ἔστω. In Roman law, the XII Tables have "si nox furtum factum sit, si eum occisit, iure caesus esto." As Philo is reproducing Exodus, these are illustrations of that rather than of this. However, one point noted by Goodenough, p. 154, may be worth mentioning. The Roman law, as stated in the Digest, directed that the killing must be preceded by a call for help ("cum clamore"). If Philo knew this, it would agree with his insistence that the right to kill is founded on the inability to get help. Much the same point is made in another connexion in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 74-78.

§§ 11, 12. (Value of Sheep and Ox.) Heinemann's suggestion (approved by Goodenough), that the thought in these sections was developed from the Stoic doctrine that animals were created for the service of man, seems to me fanciful. Philo has to give a reason why the law requires a higher

APPENDICES

rate of compensation for a sheep and still more for an ox than for other goods, and this necessarily depends on their value to the owner. The passage he quotes from Cic. *De Nat.* ii. 158 ff. certainly says that the sheep was intended to supply man with wool and the ox to supply him with means for ploughing, but does not note the other abilities noted here. The two passages are also alike in not mentioning that either animal is good for food, but elsewhere the Stoics seem to have held that they were also created to be eaten ("ad vescendum"), Cic. *De Leg.* i. 8. 25 (*S.V.F.* ii. 1162).

§ 13. (Kidnapping.) As the LXX (see footnote) does not deal with the crime of kidnapping a non-Israelite, Philo leaves the punishment to be determined by the "court," cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 148, where the same is laid down in the case of death caused to a man by falling into an unguarded pit, whereas the law only prescribed compensation for the death of an animal. By the Court I do not understand him, as Goodenough does, to be thinking of the Jewish Court in Alexandria. What he says in these sections is that (1) the act is obviously a crime against humanity, and (2) would therefore have to be punished by a court, (3) should be, or at least might be, punished by something less than death.

In Roman law kidnapping ("plagium") was a serious crime, sometimes punishable by death (see Dict. of Ant.).

§ 21. (ἀγρονόμοι.) Nothing really is known of this office, except from two passages in Aristotle, *Politics* vi. 5, 1321 b and vii. 11, 1331 b, where he says that the ὕλωροί or forest-wardens are also called ἀγρονόμοι, but he does not specify the states where these are to be found. It is conjectured (see Pauly-Wissowa) that the πεδιανόμοι at Sparta, whose title is found in an inscription, are the same. But Plato in several passages of the *Laws* recommends the appointment of such officials to do for the country what the ἀσπυρνόμοι do for the towns. See particularly 760 ff. and 844 b, where they are empowered to redress civil injuries. Very little importance, I think, can be attached to Philo's statement that the best governed cities have these officials. It is an inference which he would easily draw from Plato's way of speaking of them. And indeed some modern scholars seem to have made the same assumption (see Dict. of Ant.).

§ 39. τῶν . . . μελλόντων. In support of the translation somewhat doubtfully given in the text it may be pointed out that

PHILO

Philo evidently sees in Lev. xix. 11, 12 something like the rhetorical figure, technically called "the ladder" (κλίμαξ), in which at each stage the crucial word of the preceding stage is repeated. (See Ernesti, *Lex. Rhet.*) A similar example in Demosthenes (speaking of the process by which a quarrel rises to bloodshed) runs μηδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγεσθαι, ἐκ μὲν λoidopías εἰς πληγάς, ἐκ δὲ πληγῶν εἰς τραύματα, ἐκ δὲ τραυμάτων εἰς θάνατον. Of course in Lev. itself it is not a proper "climax," as the πρότερον is not repeated before the ἐπόμενον, but Philo's exposition takes that form.

§ 40. *Unscientific method of proof.* The depreciatory note which Philo here puts into the word ἀτεχνος is very unfair. The ἀτεχνοὶ πίστεῖς are, as quoted from Cope in the note to *De Plant.* 173 (vol. iii. p. 499), "proofs not due to the artist's invented skill, but supplied to him from the outside as it were of his art." They are not opposed to ἐλεγχοὶ δίκαιοι but are indeed really more "just," in so far as they cannot be perverted by the orator's skill. In *De Plant.* the word was translated "inartistic" (perhaps better "unartistic"), and that or "unartificial" is the equivalent usually given. But "unscientific" seems to me in the usual English usage to come nearer to the meaning (or perhaps "non-scientific," though I have kept the "un-" as giving something of Philo's depreciatory note).

§ 40. (Text of φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ θεῖον ὄνομα, etc.) As stated in the footnote Cohn expelled ἀγαθὸν καὶ on the grounds (1) that ἀγαθόν is an unsuitable adjective in this context, (2) that the fairly obvious corrections ἅγιον or ἀγαστὸν suggested by Mangey are ruled out by the hiatus after φύσει. This objection applies of course to ἀγαθόν also.

In a note in vol. vii. p. 620 I said that I did not know how far Cohn's argument that a certain reading was unacceptable on account of the hiatus was valid and that Cohn did not anywhere formulate his doctrine. Since then I have got more information originally through Cumont's edition of the *De Aeternitate*, Prol., p. xx. Cumont refers to a publication by J. Jessen in a *Festschrift* to Hermann Sauppe entitled *De elocutione Philonis Alexandrini* (1889). Jessen's article is largely occupied in showing that Philo uses μέχρι or ἄχρι according as a vowel or consonant precedes. But towards the end he discusses hiatus in general from a study of the *De Opificio* and concludes that it is only admitted when

APPENDICES

(a) Philo is quoting scripture or another writer such as Plato, (b) when any stop, even a comma, intervenes, (c) in familiar conjunctions of words forming a single phrase such as ἐρήσιοι ὄραι, (d) after the article, or the relative pronoun or prepositions or καί, μή, τι, ὅτι, etc. This last class means, I suppose, the little common words which recur so frequently that the writer would be hampered if he always had to follow with a consonantal word. Cumont finds that this rule also applies to the *De Aet.*, the genuineness of which he is supporting.

Jessen however admitted that in the *De Op.* there was a certain residuum of cases, where the hiatus had no such excuse, and Cumont said the same of the *De Aet.*, and probably an examination of the other treatises would give the same result. Most of those quoted by Jessen and Cumont are capable of emendation, sometimes easily, sometimes only with some straining. As a matter of fact I observe that Cohn, who had Jessen's work before him, left all but one of these cases of hiatus as they stand in the mss. in his own edition.

The real question is whether Philo put the hiatus on the same footing as a grammatical error, or whether he thought it a thing to be avoided generally, but not if the avoidance hampered his expression in any way. I should be inclined to take the second view and hold that while a hiatus may justly increase suspicion of a reading to which there are other objections, it does not in itself create a fatal or even a very serious objection. In the case under discussion I do not think that the expulsion of ἀγαθὸν καὶ is justified, particularly as the same hiatus after φύσει occurs elsewhere (ἐβδομάδος φύσει οἰκέα, *Leg. All.* i. 16), where neither is any easy emendation possible nor has Cohn or any other editor raised any objection.

As for the first objection, it may be granted that as ἀγαθός when applied to God regularly connotes His beneficence, ἅγιον would be more appropriate here. But it is going too far to call it unsuitable. It is applied to the Divine Name in Ps. liii. (liv.) 6.

§ 49. Heinemann refers on this passage to Plato, *Ion* 534. Here and in the parallels, *Spec. Leg.* i. 65 and *Quis Rerum* 265 f., Philo may have had in mind this passage, particularly διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρούμενος τούτων (i.e. "poets") τὸν νοῦν τούτοις χρηταὶ ὑπηρεταὶ καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τοῖς θεοῖς . . . ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων, διὰ τούτων δὲ φθέγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς. But

PHILO

Heinemann goes much too far, I think, in saying that this conception is derived ("entlehnten") from Plato. The idea of the prophet as God's mouthpiece is self-evident throughout the prophetic books, and the most striking point in Philo's imagery here and in *Quis Rerum*, that the prophet is the musical instrument on which God plays, does not come so far as I know from Plato, at any rate not from this passage in the *Ion*.

§ 52. *όλοστόν*. Stephanus gives for this word "integer totus," Hesychius *όλως ως έστιν* (what does that mean exactly?) and L. and S. old and revised merely repeat this statement or part of it. It is a mis-statement to say that it is only known from Hesychius. It is found here in the mss. of Philo in a passage the genuineness of which was not questioned till lately, but was overlooked by the lexicographers, who conceivably may have overlooked the word elsewhere. In fact it has the advantage over several other words only quoted from Philo that it has the support of Hesychius. But the formation is odd. If formed like other words in *-στός*, the ordinals and *όλιγοστός*, *πολλοστός*, it should be "one out of a whole": a further difficulty here is that it seems to be used as a substantive, which is not the case, so far as I know, with the other words in *-στός*. I am inclined to think that the writer of the clause, whether Philo or another, actually wrote as Mangey suggests *όλως αύτόν*, which, as he says, would easily pass by abbreviation into *όλοστόν*.

§ 54. (Last sentence.) Heinemann remarks on these words that both the expression and the thought are derived from the Stoics, who, while combatting the sceptical doctrine that certain knowledge was unattainable and *έποχή* was universally necessary (*cf.* the sceptical sections in *De Ebr.* 171-205), allowed that there were cases where for want of evidence *έποχή* was necessary. *Cf.* *S.V.F.* ii. 121 *πάς δογματικός έν τισιν έπέχειν είωθεν, ήτοι παρά γνώμης άσθένειαν ή παρά πραγμάτων άσάφειαν, ή παρά τήν τών λόγων ίσοσθένειαν. έπέχειν and έποχή are the accepted technical terms in this sense, but need such a commonsense observation as that, when two things are equal, you cannot decide in favour of either, be necessarily traced to Stoic sources?*

§§ 63 ff. These sections have a close parallel in Plato, *Laws* 955 c-d "those who serve their country ought to serve without receiving gifts, and there ought to be no excusing

APPENDICES

or approving the saying 'Men should receive gifts as the reward of good but not of evil deeds'—for to know what is good and to persevere in what we know is no easy matter. The safest course is to obey the law, which says 'Do no service for a bribe'" (Jowett). That Philo had Plato in mind is made more probable by his introduction of another Platonic word *ἡμιμόχθηροι*, *Rep.* 352, used to describe the half-way house in injustice.

§ 64. *Awarder* (or *umpire*) of justice. Heinemann may be right in regarding this as a direct quotation from Aristotle. Philo however also knew the expression *βραβεύειν τὰ δίκαια* from Demosthenes, *Ol.* iii. 96. *βραβεύς*, *βραβεύειν* and *βραβευτής*, originally applied to the games, easily lend themselves to metaphor and Philo has used the last several times in other connexions. But see on § 149.

§ 73. *One of the men of old*. Mangey supposed that this refers to the passage in the *Theaetetus* of Plato quoted below on § 188. But imitation is not quite the same as assimilation, nor is showing kindness there specifically marked. Heinemann's note is "this frequently quoted saying was ascribed to Pythagoras and Demosthenes," and refers for the evidence of this to Vahlen's edition of Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, p. 216; Cohn gives the same reference. I am sorry that I have been unable to see this edition, but presumably the evidence is the same as or includes that quoted by Roberts in his edition of the *De Sub.*, p. 244. (a) Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, xii. 59 "Pythagoras said that the two best gifts of the gods to men were speaking the truth and showing kindness (*τό τε ἀληθεύειν καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν*), and he added that both resembled the works of the gods." (b) Arsen, *Viol.* 189 "Demosthenes, being asked what man has like God, said 'showing kindness and speaking the truth.'"

§ 85. *ἔρως*. This is a word for which there is no real equivalent in English when the context does not allow it, as no doubt it often does, to be rendered by the single word "love." The phrase "sexual love" is not attractive, and does not cover the whole of the Greek conception. The Stoic definition of *ἔρως* as one of the seven different forms of *ἐπιθυμία*, Diog. Laert. vii. 113, is *ἐπιθυμία τις οὐχὶ περὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον*, which Hicks translates "a craving from which good men are free, for it is an effort to win affection due to the visible presence of

PHILO

beauty." An interesting study of the four words *στοργή*, *ἔρως*, *φιλεῖν*, *ἀγαπᾶν*, particularly as used by Plato and Aristotle, is given in an Appendix to Sandys's edition of *Aristot. Rhet.*, vol. i.

§ 104. *μακρόθεν*. As Heinemann, Mangey and Cohn generally give quite a different sense here and elsewhere from myself to this adverb and *πόρρωθεν*, I take the opportunity of collecting the passages I have noted in this book and the preceding and the *De Virtutibus*. In nearly all the clear intention is to show that the injunction actually given leads on to another principle of a higher kind, which I have generally translated by the adverb "indirectly" or "by implication," on which see below.

- (1) *Spec. Leg.* iii. 48 *μακρόθεν δ' ὡς ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ἐσωφρόνισεν ἀνθρώπους*.

Here, where *ἀπὸ σκοπῆς* fixes the meaning beyond question, the guilt of unlawful unions among men is deduced from the prohibition of mixed matings of animals. Heinemann "wie von einer Warte"; Mangey "longe quasi e speculo."

- (2) *Ib.* 63 *πόρρωθεν μοιχείας ἀνείργων*. (Guilt of adultery from the injunction of ablutions even after lawful intercourse.)

Here Heinemann translates *πόρρωθεν ἀνείργων* by "fern zu halten"; Mangey "longe submovens."

- (3) *Ib.* 117 *πόρρωθεν τὴν βρεφῶν ἔκθεσιν ἀπέιπε δι' ὑπονοιῶν*. (Guilt of infanticide from the punishment decreed against causing a miscarriage.)

Here the addition of *δι' ὑπονοιῶν* gives the same thought in a different form. The one prohibition is an allegory of the other. Heinemann "in versteckter Andeutung," apparently translating *δι' ὑπονοιῶν* and ignoring *πόρρωθεν*; Mangey "procul vetuit."

- (4) *Spec. Leg.* iv. 104 (this passage) *μακρόθεν ἀνείρξαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ὀρμὴν*. (The evil of cruel vindictiveness from the prohibition of carnivorous animals for food.)

Heinemann "recht fern zu halten"; Mangey "procul remoturus."

- (5) *Ib.* 203 *πόρρωθεν ἀνακοπὴν μοιχῶν ἐργάζεσθαι*. (Guilt of adultery from the mixed mating of animals, cf. iii. 48.)

APPENDICES

Heinemann "offenbar" ("openly" or "plainly"?); Mangey "quanto magis."

- (6) *Ib.* 218 αἱ μακρόθεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις πλεονεξιῶν τὴν λύσσαν ἀνείργουσι. (Duty of restraining covetousness from the prohibition of sowing the vineyard.)

Heinemann "nachdrücklich"; Mangey "procul arcet."

- (7) *De Virt.* 21 πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀνδρογύνους οὕτως καὶ γυνάνδρους φυλαξάμενος. (Womanliness in general from the single item of womanly dress (see the next sentence ἐνὸς γὰρ κτλ.).)

Cohn "fernhalten"; Mangey "longe submovens."

- (8) *Ib.* 116 πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ μὴ ἐφήδεσθαι. (Avoidance of ἐπιχαιρεκακία, from the injunction to help an enemy's beast.)

Ignored by Cohn; Mangey "in minimis quoque docet."

- (9) *Ib.* 137 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακρόθεν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν εὐχέρειαν. (Guilt of infanticide from the prohibition of killing a pregnant animal.)

Cohn "schon von vornherein"; Mangey "ad longe com-pescendum."

- (10) *Ib.* 160 πόρρωθεν ἀναδιδάσκεται τῶν λογικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. (Consideration for men from kindness to animals.)

Cohn gives this well, "zieht durchaus die weitere Lehre"; Mangey "inde dixit rationalibus potiore curam impendere." To these may be added *De Virt.* 151 τὸ μέλλον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς μακρόθεν . . . καθορᾶσθαι, where the same phrase is used as in iii. 48, but has no reference to Moses' teaching. Cf. also *De Virt.* 129.

While taking the adverbs in an intensive sense "to keep far away" will suit (7) and perhaps (2, 4, 6), if the adverbs in -θεν can bear this sense, which seems to me doubtful, it is hardly compatible with ἀπειπεῖν (3), or ἀνακοπήν ἐργάζεσθαι (5), or ἐπισχεῖν (9), and quite impossible with σωφρονίζειν (1), and ἀναδιδάσκειν (8, 10). It is clear to me that throughout, as indicated by (1), both adverbs express Philo's conception of the Law as a code in which those who have eyes to see may discern other lessons *far away* from the primary and literal. I do not feel that the translation "indirectly" or "implicitly" is at all adequate. "A lesson reaching far

PHILO

beyond the actual words " would express the meaning better, but be too heavy a rendering for this single word.

§ 106. (Dividing the hoof.) In this treatise the phrase is used of ethical questions only and signifies the distinguishing of the desirable from the undesirable. In *De Agr.* 131-145 the treatment is somewhat different. In § 133 as here it is taken to mean distinguishing the beneficial from the injurious, but as the discussion proceeds it is applied to analysis and distinction in the arts and sciences—grammar, music and logic. The sophists in fact are represented by the pig, because although they divide the hoof they do not chew the cud.

As Philo's interpretation of διχθεῖν or something like it appears in the letter of Aristeeas 150, which though of uncertain date is by general agreement considered to be earlier than Philo, it is not altogether original with him. As to whether it was accepted later, I have no information as far as Rabbinism is concerned. Heinemann's silence in *Bildung* would suggest that it was not. But there is an interesting passage in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, where Faithful discoursing about Talkative says that he reminds him of Moses' saying that the clean beast must both chew the cud and part the hoof. "The hare cheweth the cud, but yet is unclean because he parteth not the hoof. And this truly resembles Talkative. He cheweth the cud, he seeketh knowledge; he cheweth upon the word; but he divideth not the hoof; he parteth not with the way of sinners; but as the hare, retaineth the foot of a dog or bear, and therefore he is unclean." This is not very different from Philo's interpretation. Is Bunyan here following a tradition of the Christian pulpit? Christian's reply is "You have spoken, for aught I know, the gospel-sense of these things."

§ 109. πολύχλα. This word is not recorded by Stephanus or the earlier L. & S. The revised L. & S., citing this passage, erroneously gives it as "dividing the hoof, opposed to μονώνυχα."

§ 113. *Cormorant*. αἰθυία ("sea-gull"?) is taken as a type of voracity with the same verb ἐμφορεῖσθαι in *Leg. All.* iii. 155 and *Quod Det.* 101. Philo is the only author quoted for this usage, as the other passage cited by Stephanus, Athenaeus vii. 283 c, is not to the point. L. & S. do not notice it at all.

§ 116. (Clean and unclean birds.) Aristeeas 145-147 gives

APPENDICES

the same definition of the unclean birds and mentions doves, pigeons, geese and partridges as specimens of the clean. He also adds the moral that the prohibition is intended as a warning against injustice and tyranny among men.

§ 128. ἀνδρὸς εὐζώνου. While εὐζωνος in a general sense is common enough, the phrase as a standard of measurement is not quoted in the Lexicon from any writers later than Herodotus (i. 72, 104) and Thucydides (ii. 97). If the absence of quotation reflects the facts, we may fairly set its presence here as a conscious literary reminiscence or imitation of the historians.

§ 137. *Shaking before the eyes.* Though Philo does not actually use σαλευτά nor get nearer to it than σάλον δ' ἐχέτω below, there can be no doubt that this is what he read. It is equally clear that it is a misreading, and his explanation is fantastical. But the mistake is not confined to him. The Apparatus Criticus in Brook and Maclean's edition of the LXX shows that one ms. has σαλευτόν in Deut. xi. 18, though not apparently in vi. 8, and that the Old Latin version had "mobilia." This is also supported by a treatise of Origen, which only survives in the Latin. The reference to this is not given. Otherwise it would be interesting to see whether Origen owed the idea to Philo and gave it further currency.

§§ 149, 150. *Unwritten Laws.* Heinemann rightly notes the resemblance to Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 14. 7, where Aristotle says that on the one hand it may be argued that "the better man is he who is just without compulsion; now the written laws of right are compulsory, the unwritten are not." This is the view taken here. From another point of view it is worse to offend against the written, "for he who commits offences which are dangerous and liable to penalty will still more do so when there is no penalty." Our passage looks like a definite reminiscence and strengthens the probability that the phrase in § 64 is a direct quotation (the same can hardly be said of the allusion to ἀτεχνοὶ πίστεις in § 40). The distinction between ἀτεχνοὶ and ἐντεχνοὶ πίστεις, though originating with Aristotle, runs through the whole of later rhetoric and must have been "known to every schoolboy."

It is to be observed that the sense of ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι here is totally different from that of *De Virt.* 194, where see note *b*.

§ 158. (Footnotes *b* and *c*.) In *De Agr.* 84 ff. Philo takes

PHILO

ἵππων, which he here paraphrases by θρέμματα, in its regular sense of cavalry and introduces his allegory by declaring that the literal interpretation is untenable because Moses would not recommend that a ruler should forgo such an indispensable part of his armament. Cf. note on *De Virt.* 28 ff.

§ 160. Ἐπινομίδα. Philo has used this name for Deuteronomy in *Quis Rerum* 162, 250. As so applied it is not quoted from any other writer, and if the application is due to him it is a reasonable supposition that it is modelled on the pseudo-Platonic treatise of that name.

§ 188. *Assimilated to God.* Philo no doubt here and elsewhere where he uses this expression is thinking of Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 A-B, which he quotes, naming the treatise, in *De Fug.* 63, "to fly away (from earth to heaven) is to become like God (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ) as far as this is possible, and to become like him is to become just, holy and wise."

§ 188. Σῶμα σῆμα. This play of words appears also in *Leg. All.* i. 108 in connexion with a saying of Heracleitus, from which "the editors of Heracleitus infer that σῶμα σῆμα was originally said by him" (Thompson on *Gorg.* 493 A). Plato himself in the *Cratylus* ascribes it to the Orphics. Heinemann refers to Philolaus fr. 14 Diels, which I have had no opportunity of verifying. Possibly it is the same as the saying attributed to Philolaus by Clement Al. *Strom.* iii. 17 α ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι συνέζευκται καὶ καθάπερ ἐν σώματι τούτῳ τέθραπται.

§ 190. (Footnote a.) According to Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 218, this court of appeal consists of the high priest, the Prophet and the council of elders. Is there some connexion between this inclusion of the Prophet and Philo's insistence in § 192 on the prophetic character of the true priest?

§ 191. νήφاليا θύειν. This use of the neuter accusative plural is too well attested in Philo (see footnote) to be disposed of by correction to -ους. But the usage is strange and calls for more explanation than I can give with any confidence. May we suppose that in the wineless offerings to various deities the abstention of the offerer was felt to be an essential element (cf. νήφων δόιους, Soph. *O.C.* 100), and so the phrase acquired this personal meaning? Two passages quoted by Stephanus from Plutarch suggest something of the kind, *Mor.* 464 c ἀμεθύστους καὶ δόιους διαγα-

APPENDICES

γείν, ὥσπερ νηφάλια καὶ μελίσπονδα θύοντα, and 132 Ε αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ πολλάκις νηφάλια θύομεν ἐπιζόμενοι μὴ ζητεῖν αἰεὶ τὸν ἄκρατον.

§ 193. *Market-controllers.* "Agoranomi existed both at Athens and Sparta, and, as inscriptions prove in almost every Greek state, . . . they regulated the price and quantity of all things which were brought into the market and punished all persons convicted of cheating, especially by false weights and measures." (Dict. of Ant.)

§ 199. (ἀδικοπραγεῖν.) Stephanus quotes five examples of this word, one from Plutarch, the other four all from Philo. Of these one as Stephanus has it, and as it stands in Mangey's text, is transitive, viz. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 182 εἰὰν περὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀδικοπραγῶσι τὸν πλησίον, and so the majority of mss. F however has τῶν πλησίον and S apparently τῶν πλησίων. I feel no doubt that Cohn is right in following F. The corruption of τῶν to τὸν to bring it into supposed agreement with πλησίον is very natural.

The converse δικαιοπραγεῖν is commoner or at least is cited from a much greater range of authors and seems to be always intransitive.

§ 231. (Footnote c.) For this Pythagorean thought see Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy* (Eng. trans.), vol. i. pp. 420 f. τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἴδιον . . . τοῖς ἴσον, and the statement "that the first square number (ἰσάκις ἴσον), i.e. four or nine, is justice." So in *De Plant.* 122 the saying "that equality is the mother of justice" is connected with the equality of the sides of a square.

§ 237. *Democracy . . . the best of constitutions.* Democracy is equated here to ἰσότης, cf. *De Conf.* 108, "which honours equality and has law and justice for its rulers." There it is opposed to mob rule, ὀχλοκρατία, and so also *De Agr.* 45 and *De Virt.* 180, but in *De Abr.* 242 to tyranny, while in *Quod Deus* 176 we have the curious idea that the world is a democracy because each nation in its turn gets supremacy. From all this one can gather little more than a vague idea of order, justice and a government under which every one receives the rights and duties for which he is best fitted.

On the puzzling question how Philo comes to apply to this ideal constitution the name of democracy repeated so emphatically six times (see note on *Quod Deus* 176) a good deal has been written lately. Dr. Eric Langstadt in his

PHILO

essay *Zu Philo's Begriff der Demokratie*, Dr. Martin Braun in an essay called *Social and Political Aspects of Philo's Philosophy*, Professor Goodenough in his *Philo's Politics, Practice and Theory*, have all dealt with the subject. Langstadt in the body of his essay gives a careful and interesting analysis of Philo's conceptions of good government, conceptions which he may be supposed to have summed up under the name of democracy, but which only serve to make the name more surprising. For an attempt to explain the name we must turn to his *Nachwort*. In this he suggests that the name is taken from the Platonic or pseudo-Platonic *Menexenus* 238 c, where Socrates is represented as saying of the Athenian constitution as it was and is "one man calls it a democracy, another by any name which pleases him. In reality it is an aristocracy carried on with the approval of the multitude." There are some good points in favour of this theory. Philo quotes another part of this description as from Plato in the *De Op.* 133, and there are features in this idealized picture of the Athenian constitution which remind us of Philo. A notable example is the insistence on equality of birth as the source of its excellence, and some more recondite resemblances are pointed out by Langstadt. But on the whole it is difficult to suppose that this casual mention of the name democracy can so have impressed Philo as the theory supposes.

Braun finds the solution of the puzzle in the use of *δημοκρατία* as the Greek equivalent for the Latin "Res publica," particularly in the sense of the republican constitution which was superseded by Caesarism. He gives many examples of this from Dion Cassius, and what is more important as nearer to Philo, from Josephus. His main point is that *δημοκρατία* had become the battle-cry of the senatorial opposition, though to say this does not do justice to his full analysis of the political situation both at Rome and Alexandria.

Goodenough also takes this use of *δημοκρατία* as his starting-point. But he lays more stress on the acceptance of the term by the upholders of the principate. He points out that in the chapters in Dion Cassius 52, where Augustus is advised by Agrippa to refuse and by Maecenas to assume supreme power, while Agrippa extols democracy, Maecenas declares that a monarchy will insure the true democracy, and that Dion also remarks that the emperors were careful to

APPENDICES

build up their power by assuming democratic titles. So he finally comes to the conclusion that to Philo the ideal government is monarchy in its Roman form of democracy, kingship in its best sense.

If one may take as a working hypothesis that Philo's use of the term springs from this special sense, while I think Braun is nearer the truth, I should suggest a middle course between the two views. Perhaps we may say that reverence for the great Roman Republic, S.P.Q.R., had by Philo's time raised the name from the disparagement cast on it by Plato and Aristotle to a position of high respect. On the lips of the opposition its meaning was unmistakable, and I think Braun might strengthen his argument by the fact that this opposition was largely Stoical, though not perhaps so markedly so as some decades later (see Arnold's *Roman Stoicism*, pp. 392 ff.). But the imperialist would not allow his opponent to monopolize the term. He claimed, as Maecenas says, that the Principate gave a freedom which, unlike the freedom of the mob, awarded equally to all according to their deserts, and was, in fact, government of the people for the people though not by the people. Philo thus adopts this slogan or catch-word as Braun calls it and, as he well says, surrounds it with a religious and metaphysical halo, not caring very much how far it fitted in with his Platonic conception of the philosopher king.

APPENDIX TO *DE VIRTUTIBUS*

(The title.) This as given by Cohn is based mainly on Eusebius's description of the treatise (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18) *Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἃς σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψε Μωυσῆς* (see Gen. Introd., p. xvi), and on the title in S, the oldest ms., *Περὶ γ' ἀρετῶν ἃς σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψε Μωυσῆς περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μετανοίας*. Cohn seems to me to have dealt somewhat arbitrarily with these. Since the other mss., which do not have either *τριῶν* or *ἃς* . . . *Μωυσῆς*, persist in including the non-extant *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* (see Gen. Introd., p. xiii. note *b*), he has added it against the authority of S and consequently has to exclude *τριῶν*.

Mangey gives *περὶ τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἥτοι περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μετανοίας*. I presume that he thought, as I should be inclined to think, that Eusebius did not intend the words *ἃς* . . . *Μωυσῆς* to be part of the title, but a note added to avoid any misconception to the effect that Moses only recognized three virtues. Incidentally, I am not clear about the correct meaning of *ἀνέγραψε*. I have followed Cohn's "geschildert" in translating it by "described." But Moses can hardly be said to have "described" the virtues. Goodhart and Goodenough give "discussed." Perhaps rather "set forth" (as laws), *i.e.* "enjoined."

§ 17. *ἀτυφίας* . . . *τῦφος*. These two words are of course opposites and are definitely named together below, §§ 178 and 195, as well as here. In *De Cong.* 138 and *Mos.* ii. 96 *ἀτυφία* is contrasted with *οἷησις* ("conceit") and may be given by "humility" or "modesty," but this is exceptional. *τῦφος* itself constantly recurs in Philo, but in rather different senses. Goodenough on pp. 34 f. of his *Philo's Politics* has a description of it with useful references, but the word which he adopts, "arrogance," seems to me to be rarely if ever applicable. Nearer to it is "vanity," meaning either the disposition which follows vain things or the vain things themselves.

APPENDICES

Very frequently it is applied to the vain imagination of idolaters, as for example in § 178, and sometimes, particularly when coupled with "Egyptian," to the object of the false worship, *e.g.* *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125. Elsewhere as here it is the love of the vanities of life in general and particularly its pomps, and in *In Flacc.* 4 he gives it this meaning in a not unfavourable sense, for in describing Flaccus's earlier good government he says that "he upheld the dignity of his position (σεμνότερον ἤγεν αὐτόν), for τῦφος is very useful to a ruler." In a more general sense ἀνυφία is coupled with ἀχρηματία (*De Fug.* 25), and opposed to φιλοδοξία (*De Abr.* 24, 104), while in *De Vit. Cont.* 39 it is applied to the more extreme asceticism of the Therapeutae. In such cases it is fairly well given by "simplicity," but when it is contrasted with τῦφος in the sense of false beliefs or worship, I do not know of any suitable word. When Philo says that everything he has said about ἀνυφία connotes the idea of courage he means no doubt all that he has said against τῦφος in the sense of the pomps and vanities of life.

I may take this opportunity of correcting a very careless slip in the version of *Mos.* ii. 96, where ἀνυφίας was translated as if it was τύφου.

§ 28. (Comparison of these sections with *De Agr.* 148-156.) This is the most striking example of the way in which Philo alternates between a penetrating criticism of the Pentateuch and literal orthodoxy. In the *De Agr.* the law on this point is discussed in a dialogue between a hostile critic (A.) and a defender (B.). A. remarks first, that those who hope to enjoy their possessions will make better soldiers than those who have no possessions to fight for, secondly, that if their country is conquered they will not enjoy them. To this last B. replies that they will not be captured. A. "On the contrary they will fare the worst, since being non-combatants they will not be able to protect themselves." B. "But they will be protected by the strength of their fellow-countrymen." A. "How shameful then that they should be living at ease, when their fellow-countrymen are suffering the hardships of war." B. "But it is hard that they should lose their lives before they have enjoyed what they have worked for." A. "Far less hard to die in battle and leave their property to their kinsfolk, than to live to see it fall into the hands of enemies."

PHILO

Philo does not actually say that he agrees with A., but he feels his arguments so forcible that he prefers to meet them by interpreting the passage with one of his most fantastic allegories. The war is the war of the wise against the clever sophist, which only those who are specially trained can undertake with success. He who is betrothed to a maiden represents the beginner in wisdom, the planter of the vineyard is anyone who is "progressing," and the builder of the house is he who has reached perfection. Yet all three without special training are unfit to undertake such a contest and had better hold their tongues.

§ 28. (See end of footnote 2.) I think Clement's introduction of *στρατηγικῶς* can be satisfactorily explained without supposing that he found anything corresponding to it in his text of Philo. In the chapter of the *Stromateis* in which this comes (ii. 18) he is showing that all the virtues, including *φρόνησις* and *σωφροσύνη* as well as *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἀνδρεία*, are enjoined in the Scriptures, and to prove this he makes a number of unacknowledged borrowings, almost extracts, from the *De Virtutibus* (see Gen. Introd., p. xii.). But while constantly reproducing Philo's phraseology he often adds explanations of his own, as for instance that noted on § 111 (p. 446). So too in quoting "thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian" (*cf.* § 106) he adds that by "Egyptian" a gentile may be meant, or indeed any *κοσμικός* ("worldly person"?). In dealing with § 28 he follows Philo very closely, even quoting Deut. xx. 5-7 from Philo's paraphrase instead of from the LXX, but he seems rather at a loss as to what moral is to be drawn. He reproduces Philo's *φιλανθρωπία νόμου* by *ὁ φιλόανθρωπος νόμος κελεύει*, but rightly observes that the second reason is not "philanthropic" but "strategic." He then passes on to the "philanthropic" side and, finally catching at Philo's words in § 29 about not rendering hopes futile, declares that the law is encouraging *ἀνδρεία* by pointing out that those who have built or planted may hope to enjoy the fruits of their labour. By *στρατηγικῶς* he may mean, I think, that the law is enjoining *φρόνησις* also. That the wise man is *στρατηγικός*, as well as having other qualities, is a Stoic maxim (*S.V.F.* iii. 567, i. 216).

§ 29. *ὥς οὐ δέιν*. Both Cohn and Mangey think that a causal clause giving the reason for *χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν* is required rather than a consecutive. I do not feel this. "It is not

APPENDICES

right, because it is cruel" is as logical as "it is cruel, because it is not right." Cohn, *Hermes*, 1908, p. 211 gives as an additional reason that *οὐ* with a consecutive infinitive is bad grammar. This, I think, is quite wrong. In *Oratio Obliqua*, as this is, *οὐ* in such cases is a recognized, perhaps indeed the regular, usage (see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 227). But while Mangey would correct *δεῖν* to *δέον*, Cohn retains it as an example of the Attic use of *δεῖν* for the participle. He refers to an article by Usener, *Jahrb. class. Philol.* cv. 743 ff.), where examples of this usage, which is mentioned by the Greek grammarians, are quoted from Lysias, Xenophon and Plutarch. They seem to be authentic and suggest that the form is better established than the notice of it in L. & S. revised would lead one to think. Still, there seems no need to invoke it here.

§ 31. *ἣν ἀδυνατοῦν ἀπορρίψει*. Lit. "which being without strength it will cast off." This is a strange expression, both in assigning the action to the body instead of the man and in the use of *ἀδυνατέω* without the infinitive expressed, as it is in *e.g.* § 12 above and § 88 below. Stephanus notes this as a rare usage but quotes no examples. It may perhaps be worth considering a correction to *ἣν ἀδύνατον ἀπορρίψαι* or *ἣν ἀδύνατον ἥ ἀπορρίψαι*. I think this has more point. The encumbrance could not be got rid of on the battlefield and so is analogous to the body from which the diseased soul cannot rid itself.

§ 34. (The Midianites.) Cohn notes here that Philo ascribes to the Midianites what the Bible (and also Philo in *Mos.* i. 300 ff.) relates of Balaam and the Moabites, because he is here concerned with the war of revenge which was waged against the Midianites for this act (*Num.* xxxi. 2 ff.). The note seems to me misleading. Philo steers his way rather well through the hopeless confusion, caused perhaps by the mixture of two different narratives. *Num.* xxv. begins with stating that the daughters of Moab led Israel into fornication and idolatry. But after this the Moabites disappear. It is a Midianitish woman who is killed by Phinehas (*v.* 7), Midianites who are to be smitten for "beguiling you in the matter of Peor" (*v.* 18), and Midianitish women who are all put to death because "they caused the children of Israel through the counsels of Balaam to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor" (xxx. 16). In *Mos.* i. 300 ff.

PHILO

Philo does not mention the Moabites or the Midianites at all. The war was waged against Balak (*ibid.* 305), but Balak has been described as one of the neighbouring kings who had brought under his sway a great and populous part of the East. That phrase looks as if he was trying to harmonize the narrative by supposing that Balak was king of Midian and Moab.

Josephus in *Ant.* iv. 102 ff. represents Balak as king of Moab, but having an ancestral alliance with the Midianites. He sends an embassy to them to enlist their help against Israel, and it is they who invite and press Balaam to come to their aid.

§ 34. *πείρας καθιέντες*. L. & S. (old and revised) *s.v.* *καθήμι* give for this phrase "make attempts," and cite Aelian, *V.H.* ii. 13 and *N.A.* i. 57. In the first of these the phrase is used of the intrigues of the accusers of Socrates to create a prejudice against him, in the second of a curious scheme devised by a parent to test the paternity of his presumed child. Taken together with our passage, the examples suggest that the phrase means more than the colourless "make attempts" and something like the "laid down snares" suggested in the footnote. The special sense belongs perhaps more to *καθήμι* than to *πείρα*. So L. & S. cite Aristoph. *Vesp.* 174 *οἶαν πρόσφασιν καθῆκε*, and *Dion. Cass.* i. 47 *λόγους συμβατηρίου καθίει*, where the context suggests insincerity.

§ 44. (*Cf.* footnote *b*, *διαφωνεῖν*.) This word occurs twice in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxiv. 11, and Num. xxxi. 49, as well as a few times elsewhere in the LXX. Both examples in the Pentateuch are quoted by Philo more than once, and of the former he says (fr. 59 Harris) that while the literal meaning of the text *τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς* is that they were all kept safe, the inner meaning is that they were not out of harmony with the good. So too in *De Conf.* 56, and also on Num. xxxi. 49, there and elsewhere.

In a note on *De Conf.* 56 I was misled by the old L. & S., which following Stephanus's "extremam vocem edidit" disposed of this special use of *διαφωνεῖν* with "to breathe one's last," "die," "perish," "be lost." But the word does not in its literal sense mean to "cease speaking," and it is more likely that the special use is derived from the regular use for "speak differently," "be at discord." Though in later use it seems to have been strengthened to "die" or "perish,"

APPENDICES

it need not mean in either place in the Pentateuch more than "suffer some harm," and Philo may be right in supposing that in Num. xxxi. διαπεφώνηκεν οὐδὲ εἰς means "all have come out unscathed."

L. & S. revised deals with this usage more fully, but not very accurately. In Ex. xxiv. 11 it cannot mean "fail to answer roll-calls," "desert," and in the fragment, where it is opposed to συμφώνους, "fail" is misleading.

§ 78. Cohn is, I think, probably right in regarding this section as an interpolation, though his reasons are not all of equal strength. (1) The section is omitted in S, which he considers, I daresay rightly, the best authority. (2) αἰτήσεις ἀγαθῶν is an awkward expression for αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀγαθῶν. (3) θνητῶ ὅπως is a difficult hiatus. (4) ὑπάρχωσιν with a neuter plural is contrary to Philo's usage. (5) ἐπὶ for ἐπειδάν is un-Philonic. (6) τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῦ "belongs to a Christian interpolator." Philo would have said τοῦ σώματος. (7) The whole sentence is frigid ("frostig") and disturbs the connexion between §§ 77 and 79.

I think that (2) cannot have much weight when we compare εὐχή ἐστὶν αἰτήσις ἀγαθῶν, *Quod Deus* 87 and *De Agr.* 99. On (3) see note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 40, App. p. 428. (4) may be true of Philo, but not always so of his scribes. See *De Praem.* 142 and 172, where the mss. have κενωθήσονται and βλαστάνουσι with neuter plural subjects, though Cohn has corrected them. (5) ἐπὶ is found in the mss. of *De Agr.* 158 and retained in the text of Cohn, but the sentence is quite ungrammatical. There is not much in (6): σὰρξ or σάρκες is often used as an alternative for σῶμα in opposition to ψυχή or νοῦς, and such a phrase as (ψυχαὶ) τὸν σαρκὸς φόρτον ἀχθοφοροῦσι is a fair parallel. But I quite agree with the last part of (7), and also have great doubt whether the thought is really Philonic. Philo's conception of immortality, when he uses the word in any literal sense, seems (as Kennedy says) "surrounded by a rarefied philosophical atmosphere," and altogether different from the ordinary Christian conception. And such passages as *Quis Rerum* 276 (of Abraham) and this and *De Sac.* 8 and *Mos.* ii. 288 (of Moses) do not lead me to expect that he would represent Moses as praying for "true goods" beyond the grave for his people.

§ 100. πενία or πενίας? (See footnote 1.) Clement's paraphrase is τοὺς τε πενία μακρᾷ ὑποσχόντας δίκην μὴ διὰ βίου

PHILO

κολαζομένους ἐλεῶν. Here Cohn wished to correct *μὴ* to *καὶ*. But the text should stand, "pitying those who have undergone punishment through their long poverty, but (through his pity) do not suffer a lifelong punishment." The long poverty is clearly that of their years of dispossession.

Perhaps *πενία* <*πενίας*> might be worth consideration, as an effective and very easy correction.

§ 111. *Shave the hair of her head and pare her nails.* Philo does not give, nor perhaps know any reason for this. Modern commentators apparently explain it taken in connexion with her change of dress as "elements in her purification from heathenism." See Adam Smith. Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 257 says nothing about the nails, but evidently takes the shaving of the head as a sign of mourning. Clement, *Strom.* ii. 18, while also ignoring the nails, supposed that the cutting off the hair is to test the self-control of her lover. "For if reason urges him to marry her, he will hold to her, even when she has become ugly."

§ 115. *Nor yet keep her as a slave.* So too Jos. *Ant.* iv. 259. Is this one of the cases where Philo shews some knowledge of or information about the Hebrew and corrects the LXX? But apart from the fact that the Hebrew verb (see Driver) is said to mean rather "play the master over her," the phrase "thou shalt not set her at naught (or treat her contemptuously), because thou hast humiliated her" naturally suggests that her status would be that of a slave, and the possibility of selling her suggests the same.

§ 122. Philo's interpretation of the law of slavery is difficult, and Heinemann in *Bildung*, pp. 329 ff., while discussing at length Philo's attitude to slavery, throws no light on the details. In what follows I must be understood as asking for enlightenment quite as much as giving it.

(1) The *θῆτες* (see footnote a) are persons who from sheer penury have sold themselves. So F.V. in Lev. xxv. 39, and so indeed Philo (*ὑποβεβληκότας ἑαυτούς*), though the LXX *ἐὰν παραθῇ τις* would suggest that he had been sold by others. (2) From these are distinguished the debtors of "temporary loans," if that is the meaning of the word. They have not been sold, for the creditor retains the use of their services (§ 173). And indeed I do not think the Pentateuch recognizes the sale of a person for ordinary debt, though there are glimpses of the practice in the O.T. (2 Kings iv. 1 and

APPENDICES

elsewhere). Does the creditor simply make him work out his debt? (3) What are the other ways in which the free man is reduced to slavery? The thief unable to make restitution (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 3) would be a case in point, but what else?

It should be noted that Philo in prescribing the seventh year for the release is following Exodus and Deuteronomy rather than Leviticus, which limits the release to the year of Jubile (xxv. 40). But he would hardly know this, for the LXX has there the "year of release" (ἀφέσεως), and in Deut. xv. 1 and 9 he would find the seventh year called by the same name.

§ 122. (Footnote c.) Out of respect for Mangey I give his ingenious, but I fear impossible, emendation and explanation of this which he calls "mendosus et mutilus locus." Reading παραβολῆς with F and apparently transposing ἐφημερινῶν, he suggests χρεώστας, τὸ τῆς παραβολῆς ἐφημέρων ὄνομα, κτλ., i.e. debtors, who, to use a figurative phrase, get the name and condition of one-day-creatures. He gives examples from Aristotle and Athenaeus to show that ἐφήμερα ζῶα is a name applied to animals who live only for a day, and the παραβολή consists in transferring the name to people who subsist on what they can borrow day by day. For this last he might have quoted ἐφημερόβιος in § 88.

§ 124. (Footnote a. *In accordance with Attic law.*) See Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, p. 643 to the effect that a slave taking refuge in a sanctuary from the cruelty of his master had a right to demand to be sold to another. He quotes a fragment of Aristophanes,

ἔμοι
κράτιστόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον δραμεῖν,
ἐκεῖ δ' ἔως ἂν πρᾶσιν εὐρωμεν μένειν.

The idea of the hearth as a sanctuary is, as both Goodenough and Heinemann point out, entirely Greek, not Jewish. The most familiar example is that of Themistocles at the hearth of Admetus (Thuc. i. 136). Cf. also on κοινὴ ἐστία in *De Praem.* 154.

§ 139. For the practice here noted Cohn gives the following references. (a) Diodorus i. 77. Diodorus mentions it as an Egyptian law and adds that the same rule was observed by many Greeks, also as demanded by justice to the unborn child. (b) Aelian, *V.H.* v. 18, who ascribes it to the

PHILO

Areopagus at Athens. (c) Plutarch, *De sera num. vind.* 7 as an Egyptian law which has been copied (ἀπογράφασθαι) by some of the Greeks. (d) Roman law, as stated by Ulpian, *Dig.* xlviii. 19. 3. Clement in his paraphrase of this passage substitutes the Romans for Philo's "some legislators."

§ 152. (The maxim of Bias.) This in its original form as given by Diog. Laert. i. 5. 87 was φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστοις εἶναι κακοὺς, and says nothing of "hating as about to love." And it is the first half which has attracted most attention, being regarded sometimes as merely enjoining caution in forming intimacies, sometimes as purely cynical. Thus Cic. *De Am.* xvi. 59 makes Scipio describe it as abominable and unworthy of a sage. It is quoted with the other half added, and attributed to Bias by Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 13. 4, and later (*ib.* 21. 13), when, talking about the rhetorical value of maxims, he says that it would create an impression of amiability, if you say οὐ δεῖ, ὥσπερ φασί, φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντας, showing that the kernel of the maxim is in general opinion the first part. Sophocles puts both parts into the mouth of Ajax (*Aj.* 679 ff.), but the stress is laid on the unreliability of friends, and Dem. *Contra. Arist.* 122, though he deals fairly with both sides, and concludes ἄχρι τούτου καὶ φιλεῖν, οἶμαι, χρή καὶ μισεῖν, μηδετέρου τὸν καιρὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας, is really concerned with warning against ill-considered acts of friendship.

Sandys on Aristot. *Rhet. l.c.* and Jebb on Soph. *Aj. l.c.* have collected other comments from later writers, such as Bacon, Montaigne and La Bruyère. I think it is worth while noting (1) that Philo, while quoting and commenting on both sides of the saying, is really concerned, unlike the others, with the lesson of forbearance in enmity, (2) that he applies the maxim in a way that no other does to international relations, (3) that the fact that neither of the two great scholars mentioned cites this passage reflects the neglect generally shown in England by classicists to Philo during the last hundred years.

§ 185. καθάπερ (or καθ' ὅπερ) αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται. A possible emendation might be καθ' ὅπερ <αὐτὸν> αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται <εἶναι>. This would obviously be easily corrupted into what we have. Or again there may be an allusion to the double choice mentioned in the text, καθὰ ὅνπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖται αὐτὸν αἰρεῖται, with or without εἶναι added = "as He whom he himself chooses,

APPENDICES

chooses him (to be).” In this case *αὐτός* = the man, in the former it = God.

§ 188. (Last part.) Mangey, like Cohn, takes *ἄργυρος* . . . *ὑπηρεσίαν* as a parenthesis, so making *αὐγοειδέστατον* . . . *ιδόντες* an attribute of men who have only sipped wisdom. He translates *ἐόλκασι, κτλ.* by “assimilantur his qui in principatu ad negotia administranda constituti sunt virtutis tanquam reginae ministerio servientes.” This, apart from other difficulties, gives an impossibly high character to the inferior goods. Mangey, as perhaps also Cohn, failed to see that *πρός*, instead of expressing a connexion, might bear the quite common sense of “in comparison with”!

I may not have done justice to their view that *ιδόντες* goes back to *τινες*. But the form of the sentence postulated seems to me almost impossibly awkward, and the change of metaphor is as abrupt as on my hypothesis.

§ 189. *Give the name of noble only to the . . . just.* This sentiment is no doubt a definite Stoic doctrine on a line with the other paradoxes about the sage being rich, king, etc. Chrysippus asserted the worthlessness of *εὐγένεια* in the literal sense, declaring it to be “mere scrapings and offscourings” (*περίττημα καὶ διάψυμα*), and supported his argument by quotations from Homer (Plut. *De Nobilitate* 17 and 12). Cohn quotes Sen. *De Benef.* iii. 28. 1 “*nemo altero nobilior, nisi cui rectius ingenium et artibus bonis aptius.*” Cf. *Ep.* 44 *passim*, e.g. “*Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura compositus.*” But outside Stoicism it is a common piece of moralizing, from Eur. fr.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενὴς ἔμοι γ’ ἀνὴρ,
ὁ δ’ οὐ δίκαιος, κἂν ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς
Ζηνὸς πεφύκη, δυσγενὴς εἶναι δοκέι,

down to Tennyson’s “’tis only noble to be good.” See the collection of quotations in Stobaeus, *Fl.* lxxxvi. The best known statement of it in ancient literature is Juv. viii. 20 “*nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.*”

§ 208. *Except . . . policy.* Before definitely accepting Cohn’s condemnation of this clause, one would like to know what he thought of Clement’s evidence. Clement, after giving a short summary of Philo’s remarks about Jacob and Esau with a very similar wording, adds *ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία αὕτη καὶ προφητικὴ καὶ τυπικὴ*. Cohn quotes the summary but not

PHILO

the addition. The use of the word *οἰκονομία* looks like a reminiscence of the clause, but nothing is said about the hands.

Also in *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 206, Jacob's answers to his father are described as a "virtutis dispensatio," where we may reasonably assume that the Greek word translated by "dispensatio" is *οἰκονομία*. The context shews that the *οἰκονομία* is a euphemistic word for a stratagem or, as I have translated it, "an act of policy." If the clause is genuine that will be the meaning here.

On the other hand *οἰκονομία* in the Fathers often means a divine dispensation, an over-ruling of evil by good (*cf.* the Jewish view of Tamar's sin in the next note). Stephanus among his examples of this use quotes Chrysostom on this particular case. "Jacob has deceived his father, but it was not an *ἀπατή* but an *οἰκονομία*." This is the sense in which, as the adjectives show, Clement uses the word, and presumably also the interpolator, if the clause is an interpolation. So too Mangey, who translates "quadam certa providentia."

On the whole I incline to the view that the clause, so peculiarly inept where the point is the permanent difference of the two, is spurious, and that Clement's phrase is independent of Philo, an early expression of the Christian feeling that Jacob's mendacity needs justification.

§ 221. *Tamar*. "The story of Tamar," says Cohn, "is greatly idealized." In the allegorizing of her story in *De Fug.* 149 ff., *De Mut.* 134 ff. and elsewhere, we do not expect any censure. But this beatification of the actress in what to our minds is a peculiarly shocking story outdoes the other extravagances of the *De Nobilitate*. A number of Rabbinical comments are collected in Strack and Billerbeck's Talmudic commentary on Matthew i. 3. I do not think they show much signs of admiration for Tamar, though the sin of her and Judah is regarded as overruled by Providence. One reason for this seems to be as follows: Tamar was believed to be of pure blood descended from Shem (quite in opposition to Philo). Judah had married a Canaanite (*Gen.* xxxviii. 2) and her sons were tainted. The union between him and Tamar produced the offspring which was fit to be the progenitor of David and the Messiah.

APPENDIX TO *DE PRAEMIIS ET POENIS*

(The title.) This, which is given by Cohn as printed here, except that I have ventured to mark a doubt as to the fitness of the addition *περὶ ἀρῶν*, is founded on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 18. 5, who in enumerating the works of Philo known to him speaks of this as τὸ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἀθλῶν τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρῶν. But if Eusebius is to be understood as giving a formal title traceable to Philo himself, is there any reason why it should not be given in full? In itself the title does not seem very appropriate. If the "curses" are to be distinguished from the "punishments," the "blessings" must also be distinguished from the "rewards."

§§ 4-6. The allusion may perhaps be to the conduct, good or bad, of the people in the wilderness after the Sinaitic giving of the Law, but as the warnings are so largely drawn from Deuteronomy, which Philo accepts as Moses' final message, it seems more likely that he is thinking of the subsequent history. If so, and indeed in any case, the absence of any definite notice of persons or events, and of any attempt to draw the moral which the books themselves draw of the punishment of the people for apostasy and their restoration on repentance, is remarkable. The only person of whom anything substantial is said is Samuel, and what is said of him has no historical bearing. And this is still more true of Gideon, who is mentioned in *De Conf.* 130.

§ 8. *Triptolemus*. The story told here is given by Ovid, *Met.* v. 642 ff. Ceres harnessed two winged dragons or snakes to her car and sent it to Athens to Triptolemus, who rode in it through the air over Europe and Asia and scattered the corn seeds. In Verg. *Georg.* i. 19 he is also the inventor of the plough.

§ 23. (Noah and Deucalion.) This identification is, I think, unique in Philo. Though he often mentions Greek

PHILO

mythical personages, and not always with signs of disbelief (e.g. Pasiphaë in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 44 f.), he nowhere equates them with Old Testament characters. (The identification of the Aloeidae with the Babel-builders which Mangey suggested at *De Som.* ii. 283 is quite impossible, see my note there.) As for this particular identification, which of course is especially easy, neither Mangey nor Cohn quote any real parallel. Cohn indeed notes that Theophilus, a Christian writer of the late second century A.D., thought that the Greeks had given the name of Deucalion to Noah because he said δεῦτε καλεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς μετάνοιαν, but I have seen no evidence that it was made by Jews of Philo's time. The nearest parallel I have found is in Malchus, otherwise called Cleodemus, on whom see Schürer, *Jewish People* (Eng. trans.) ii. 3, pp. 209 f. Malchus stated that Abraham's three sons by Keturah accompanied Heracles to Libya, and that Heracles married the daughter of one of them. Schürer calls Malchus "a classic example of that intermixture of Oriental and Greek tradition which was popular throughout the region of Hellenism." But none of the Graeco-Jewish writers whom he mentions show anything really similar.

§ 44. μετακληθεῖς. To understand this of the change of name from Jacob to Israel is certainly tempting, though we might have expected Philo to enlarge a little more on the point, if he mentions it at all. Also there is no particular point in speaking of Jacob here as summoned or invited by God. And it would be natural enough for μετα- in this compound as in so many others to express change. On the other hand there is no authority for the usage; Tzetzes (twelfth century A.D.), cited by Stephanus, can hardly count. Philo uses the word elsewhere in the sense of "summoned" or perhaps "summoned away" (*De Som.* i. 188 cannot be quoted as an exception; see note on vol. v. pp. 601 ff.), and what is perhaps more important, throughout *De Mut.* 57-129, where he treats at length of the changes of name, including that of Jacob, he uses μετονομάζω. The other reading καταβληθεῖς has, on Cohn's principles, inferior authority and would of course require correction. Mangey suggested κατηχηθεῖς = "instructed," and translated "informatus." Perhaps κατελεθηθεῖς, cf. ἡλέησε in § 39.

§ 46. (Monad and dyad.) The doctrine is the same as that ascribed to the Pythagoreans by Diogenes Laertius

APPENDICES

viii. 25 ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αὐτῷ αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστήναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀόριστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς, "the principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from the monad the undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad which is cause; from the monad and undefined dyad spring numbers" (Hicks). The passage continues that "from numbers come points, from points lines, from lines plane figures, from plane figures solid figures, from solid figures sensible bodies," whence ultimately the universe. With the epithet "undefined" (ἀόριστος) here applied to the dyad, that is, passive matter, compare its application to αἰσθητὴ φύσις in § 36. A fuller discussion of these ideas is given by Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy* (Eng. trans.), vol. i. pp. 387 ff.

§§ 49-51. As suggested in Gen. Introd. to vol. vi. p. xi, this passage gives the best clue to Philo's meaning in adapting to spiritual experience and applying to the three Patriarchs the formula "Nature, Instruction, Practice" which runs through ancient educational literature from Plato and Aristotle to Cicero and Quintilian. Except possibly in the case of Jacob this application does not rest on the history of the three. The starting-point is that Isaac's name means "joy," and Philo would argue that in education joy is the characteristic of the student who learns naturally and instinctively. Carried over to the spiritual sphere, joy is the characteristic of the soul which instinctively knows God's will, has not any temptation to disobey it and finds a ground for rejoicing even in what would naturally be displeasing (*cf.* § 30). So with Abraham. In education readiness to believe belongs to the mind which is most susceptible to teaching; and though Abraham's name does not, like Isaac's, supply a suitable clue, the emphasis laid on his faith in Genesis fits him to represent Instruction. The argument needed to fit Jacob into the formula is more strained. But his second name of Israel = "Seeing God," does express the attainment which is the result of practice, and his history, which, though Philo does not suggest it, was subjected to more vicissitudes than the other two, would assist the idea.

In education it was recognized that all three were indispensable, though in different degrees, to every mind for successful study, and Quintilian stresses this in *Inst.*

PHILO

Pr. 27. Philo makes the same point for the spiritual life in *De Abr.* 53.

§ 55. (Definition of νόμος.) Cohn rightly calls attention to this, as the accepted definition of νόμος by the Stoics (see Index to *S. V. F.* s.v.). The more exact form seems to be λόγος ὁρθὸς προστάτων (προστακτικός), κτλ. or sometimes λόγος φύσεως, κτλ. So Cic. *De Leg.* i. 6. 18 "lex est ratio summa insita in natura, quae iubet ea quae facienda sunt, prohibetque contraria." Philo quotes it in this form in *De Ios.* 29. Cf. also *Mos.* ii. 4, where, as here, he connects it with kingship.

§ 60. σπορὰν . . . ἡμερον. ἡμερος when applied to vegetation of any kind often means simply "cultivated," as opposed to "wild." So e.g. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 209, but at other times it takes on something of what it connotes when applied to animals or men, i.e. the qualities of a domesticated animal or a civilized man. So in § 8, where it is applied to bread-food as opposed to acorns, the translation "kindly," though not quite satisfactory, gives the meaning better than "cultivated" would. Here too the meaning is, I think, more than "thriving" alone would give (Cohn, "gut gedeihen"). The crop is "responsive" to the trouble taken on it.

§ 65. (The twelve sons of Jacob and the Zodiac.) For this connexion of the twelve tribes and their founders with the Twelve Signs cf. *De Som.* ii. 111 ff., where Philo is discussing Gen. xxxvii. 9-11, where Joseph says "the sun and moon and eleven stars did obeisance to me," thus "classing himself as the twelfth to complete the Zodiac."

It seems to be agreed that the Signs are mentioned in Job xxxviii. 32 under the name of the Mazzaroth (a word copied without translation by the LXX), and many modern scholars have thought that Gen. xxxvii. 9 actually refers to them, some indeed finding traces of them in the blessing of Jacob in ch. xlix. Whether this is so or not, Philo naturally took the words so, but the tone of that passage, where Joseph's presumption is condemned, is very different from this, where the twelve tribes are the earthly counterpart of the twelve great heavenly bodies. It would be interesting to know how far the idea was current in Philo's time. An article by Feuchtwanger, in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1915, pp. 241-267, gives an account of the place held by the Zodiac in Rabbinical tradition, but mostly in later

APPENDICES

times, and does not dwell much upon its relation to the tribes and their founders. One point mentioned (also by the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. Zodiac) is the tradition that each of the tribes had one of the Signs on its banner.

§ 78. (The lacuna.) This evidently contained the end of the story of Korah and something at the beginning of the Blessings. But was there anything else? I think that there is good reason to think that there was something, and perhaps a good deal. Eight examples have been given of rewards against two of punishments. Also in § 7 he has classified both under five heads, individuals, families, cities, nations and countries, great regions of the earth. In *Mos.* ii. 53-56 he has signalized the Flood and the destruction of the cities of the plain as the two great judgements of God upon the unrighteous. These fit the fifth and third of the heads, and it is unlikely that he would fail to mention them here whether briefly or at length. Possibly he may have cited also the disasters which befell the Egyptians through the plagues and at the Red Sea to cover "nations and countries."

If it is objected that, while he has stated that the rewards also fall under the five heads, he is content to stop at the second, one answer might be that the expansion of Jacob's family into a great nation, with its "orderly cities, schools of wisdom, justice and religion" (§ 66), though mentioned as the reward of Jacob's family, is also a reward to the nation and its cities. But a better answer is that, apart from this, there were no good examples of the other heads to give. The preservation of Zoar might have been quoted as an example of a city rewarded, though this is not in Genesis ascribed to its merits, but otherwise what record is there in the Pentateuch of any larger nation or city being so rewarded? I think we must conclude that § 7 is loosely worded, and that the full classification applies only to the punishments.

The part lost at the beginning of the Blessings need not have been more than a single sentence stating that Moses promised that in the future also prosperity would be the reward of obedience and misfortune of disobedience.

§ 87. (Pacification of wild beasts.) Philo has no authority for this in the Pentateuch beyond *Lev.* xxvi. 6 "I will destroy evil (or wicked) beasts out of your land." It seems to me impossible to doubt that he is thinking of *Isaiah* xi. 6-9 or perhaps rather that he reads the text in *Leviticus*

PHILO

in the light of Isaiah ; that is a straining of which he is not incapable. I do not understand Heinemann's remark (*Bildung*, p. 419), that "it is noteworthy that he does not appeal to Isaiah xi." Apparently he thinks that Philo has no direct knowledge of that passage ("schwerlich hat er von dieser Stelle unmittelbare Kenntniss"). If this means that the absence of any direct statement that the thought comes from Isaiah shows ignorance of the passage, I entirely disagree. Philo never mentions Isaiah by name, but quotes from him four times as one of the prophets and once (*Quis Rerum* 25, Isaiah l. 4) without any indication that it is a quotation. Here he gives the substance of Isaiah's description spiritualized by the thought that this can never come about till the "wild beasts within ourselves" are tamed, a thought which to his mind, in which the allegorical is always seen behind the literal, would be assisted by the epithet *πονηρά* = "wicked," applied to the beasts in Leviticus.

Besides Isaiah, Philo may have had in mind Job v. 23 (of the righteous) "the savage beasts shall be at peace with them," and still more, Hosea ii. 18 "I will make for them in that day a covenant with the wild beasts of the field, and the birds of heaven, and the reptiles of the earth." Both these books were known to him and are quoted (Job being mentioned by name).

Heinemann goes on to say that Philo must certainly have drawn from the "Wise Sayings" (*Weissagungen*), for which he gives a reference to the *Sibylline Oracles* iii. 788, since the Greek pictures of the "Beast-peace" are by no means so authoritative as to have given him the conception. This may be true, but it seems to me that he could find enough authority in Scripture itself.

§ 89. *Maltese dogs*. This breed is mentioned by Strabo vi. p. 277, by Athenaeus xii. p. 518 (of the Sybarites *ἐχαιρον τοῖς Μελιταίοις κυνιδίοις*), and by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 26, where they are called "catulos."

§ 111. *τοῖς ὀνόμασι κυρίοις*. *κύρια ὀνόματα*, said in L. & S. to signify "authorized, proper or literal words," are, according to Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2. 2, ordinary words as opposed to those which are figurative, foreign, archaic or in any way uncommon (Cope). Philo often uses the phrase for a proper or personal name (*e.g.* *Mos.* ii. 207: people do not as a rule address a parent by his *κύριον ὄνομα*), but more often for a

APPENDICES

word which exactly expresses its meaning, *e.g.* *De Conf.* 192, Moses when he spoke of God "confounding" the languages at Babel did not mean that He divided them, for then he would have used a *κυριώτερον* such as *τομή* or *διάκρισις*. Sometimes it means a word which brings out some true or striking aspect, *e.g.* *Quod Deus* 139, "seers" (*δρώντες*) was a *κύριον ὄνομα* for prophets. Here the use is extended further. "Day" is *κύριον*, because it expresses the lesson which Philo draws more exactly than "years" for instance would, and "number" is *κύριον*, because it brings out a similar lesson more exactly than "*all thy days*" would. Thus the phrase has been made to mean something almost the opposite of what we should call literal, and so also does the phrase "literally true" as often used in English. (See also note to *Mos.* ii. 38 (vol. vi. p. 606).)

§ 111. οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ . . . οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ. Mangey quotes Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae* 208, where it is said that his disciples who remembered him told how

τοὺς μὲν ἐταίρους ἦγεν ἴσον μακαρέσσει θεοῖσι,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἡγεῖτ' οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

Cf. also Callimachus, *Ep.* 25, and Theocritus xiv. 48, where it is in the form

οὕτε λόγῳ τινὸς ἄξιοι οὐτ' ἀριθματοί.

§ 123. *In which God . . . walks as in a palace.* St. Paul, quoting freely Lev. xxvi. 12, also gives ἐν the sense of "in" rather than "among" in 2 Cor. vi. 16 "We are the temple of the living God; as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them" (so E.V. rightly).

§ 154. (The symbols of peace.) Salt has been used in this sense, *De Ios.* 210, and joined with libations in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96. On the altar of mercy Mangey says that there was an altar of that name at Athens founded by the descendants of Heracles and used as an asylum for suppliants. I do not know what evidence he has for his statement about the founders. He refers to the scholiast on Soph. *O.C.* 260 ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἑλέου βωμὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἵδρυται, and Pausanias (presumably of Athens) τοὺς εἰς ἐλέου βωμὸν καταφυγόντας ἀσυλίαν ἔχουσιν. He does not give the reference for this, but see Paus. i. 17 Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἑλέου βωμὸς, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνου τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων

PHILO

νέμουνσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. If, judging from this, we may take the Altar of Mercy as an allusion to the Athenian institution, it might give some ground for giving κοινὴ ἐστία, which otherwise might be taken in a general way, as in *De Virt.* 124, the special sense of the altar placed in the Prytaneium of a city for state sacrifices, or the further hospitality given to ambassadors and others. See references in L. & S. and more fully in Stephanus.

§ 154. *All are through Seven and are Seven.* Cohn translates "denn alles geschieht mit Hilfe des Sabbats und ist Sabbatfeier." Here, by giving Sabbath for ἑβδομάς, as he generally does, he fails to express the potency and sanctity of the number itself. Mangey has "omnia vel sunt hebdomas vel pertinent ad hebdomadem." Both these seem to take πάντα as "all things in general" rather than "they all," i.e. the symbols just mentioned. I have not noticed any real parallel to this. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 156, speaking of the feast of unleavened bread which is held for seven days "to mark the precedence and honour which the number holds in the universe," he adds, "the sacred seven which He intended to be the source and fountain to men of all good things." For "all are seven" cf. *De Fug.* 173 "Peace and Seven are identical." Both these point to limiting the scope of πάντα.

§ 171. *The days of their misfortunes* (or *inauspicious days*.) See on *Spec. Leg.* iii. 183. Is there any specific allusion?

Massebieau's translation "decreed that they (the Jews) should observe their ill-omened (or abominable) public festivals" can hardly be got out of the Greek. Possibly "their fast-days." The Law knows of only one regular fast-day, the Day of Atonement. But after the Captivity four such were appointed (*Jewish Encyclopaedia* on Fasting and Fast-days). Heinemann, *Bildung*, p. 97, says that Philo betrays no knowledge of them, but on the other hand, in describing the Law he has no occasion to do so. But, on the whole, it seems better to take the words generally of what naturally happens to a conquered nation. The celebration of the conqueror's victories is a celebration of their defeat.